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NEW WISDOM, AN OLD WEAPON: NATIVE EDUCATION AS CULTURAL GENOCIDE IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES, 1870-1905

BY

ROBERT D. SHAW

©

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree
of Master of Education in the History of Education.

Department of Educational Policy Studies
Edmonton, Alberta
Fall, 1995

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "New Wisdom, An Old Weapon: Native Education As Cultural Genocide In The North-West Territories, 1870-1905," submitted by Robert D. Shaw in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in the History of Education.

D. Wangler
Dr. D. Wangler

Frank Peters
Dr. F. Peters

P. Brook
Dr. P. Brook

Dated: August 17, 1995

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF

MY UNCLE,

KENNETH VERNON SHAW

(1904 - 1994)

FOR HIS APPRECIATION AND PROTECTION OF

EARLY WESTERN CANADIAN FOKELORE AND ARTIFACTS,

AND TO MY WIFE, SUSAN,

AND DAUGHTER, AMY,

FOR THEIR UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT

ON THIS PROJECT.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this study was to examine native schooling in the North-West Territories during the period 1870 to 1905 in relation to the influences of nineteenth-century European societal and educational ideologies.

Thus, the scope of the analysis involves a presentation of two broad themes. The first, identifies the salient features of European society and educational thought which came to characterize the nineteenth-century. The second, focuses on native education in the North-West Territories with an emphasis on determining which of these ideologies would impact the Western Canadian frontier and come to be utilized and imparted within the educational setting.

The findings conclude that native education in the Western Territories was a paternalistic and coercive venture exercised by the colonizing power. As the full might of nineteenth-century civilization and technology swept across and overwhelmed traditional native culture, the goal would be to integrate and mold the native to the "superior" level of white society. The new wisdom, as it is termed, is portrayed by those ideologies that were influential in serving this end. As this study points out, these were primarily the enlightened naturalism of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the liberal, laissez-faire theory of John Stuart Mill, and the social evolutionary stance embodied in the work of Herbert Spencer. The old weapon--the attempted assimilation and cultural genocide of the native people--would be largely played out through the use of the Christian mission and the aim of educational "enlightenment", although

famine, disease, inter-group hostilities and the encroachment of white civilization would all contribute to native submission.

The result, however, would be the failure of government, church and educational policies in the North-West. The native was left ill-suited by this training for participation in either white or Indian culture. By the early decades of the twentieth century, the forced attempt at Indian integration would only end in native segregation and government dependency.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose

This study seeks to investigate two broad themes with respect to the education of Native Peoples of the North-West Territories during the time period 1870 to 1905. First, an analysis will be made regarding nineteenth-century society and the predominant theoretical underpinnings of educational thought and practice which permeated the intellectual atmosphere within both Europe and America. Second, an inquiry is presented as to how the accepted educational philosophies and societal beliefs of the nineteenth century interacted with and affected the educational policies and practices directed at and experienced by the Cree and Blackfoot people of the North-West Territories.

The first section identifies prominent educational traditions that were a product of distinct philosophies arising from within these geographical areas, and a by-product of the political, economic, religious and social conditions which characterized nineteenth-century society.

While the British and French educational traditions figure most significantly among European educational thought due to their influence on the Canadian West, other notable intellectual traditions formulated by philosophers residing elsewhere added to and augmented the overall focus of theory and practice adopted by these countries which were transplanted to their colonies. For example, influences such as Gottlieb Fichte, Johann Friedrich Herbert and Friedrich Froebel within the German tradition; Stanley Hall and John Dewey representative of the

American educational realm, and Egerton Ryerson in eastern Canada all had an impact on the nineteenth-century educational mainstream which would come to affect the Western Territories.

Furthermore, external factors would also serve to greatly influence the course of educational development within the nineteenth century. For example, nationalism arising from the French Revolution and supported by the social evolutionary theories common place during the latter half of the century had the impact of subordinating the individual to the State. Similarly, the economic system insisted on competition, individual initiative, a system of incentives and a meaningful work ethic. Additionally, religion permeated society and expected from its adherents morality, sobriety and social commitment.

There was an implicit set of paradoxes that characterized nineteenth-century society which due to their extremes went well beyond those already implicit within the concept of democracy. On the one hand there existed the Darwinian ideal of survival of the fittest, reinforced by Herbert Spencer and applied as a mechanism of social justification and social control. On the other hand, the writings of Marx, religious doctrine and philanthropic enterprise attempted to enforce social equality amongst individuals. On the one hand the economy demanded educated factory workers proficient in the art of efficient manual labour to help advance the new thrust in technological development. On the other hand, education for the nation and for the factory system eclipsed education for the self. The conservative element within the new liberal business class worried over the growing number of literate members of the masses, and in Britain, various factory and school reforms were slow in coming.

With the growth of countries and colonies abroad the nineteenth-century nation state experienced a geographical shift in its hierarchical location with regard to the center of interest. New markets crystallized, competition amongst nations was paramount, and political and economic rivalry solidified political boundaries and endangered international relations.

In the face of these catastrophic changes within society, the industrial state met up with what it deemed the "primitive" face of indigenous culture. And although the original meeting between these two distinct societies had occurred many years prior to the nineteenth century, it was within this century that nation building was of great importance. For instance, this was occurring at a rapid rate in Africa, Latin America, and the American and Canadian West. Within this cultural milieu, nation building meant control by imperial forces, or the Eastern interests in the case of the American and Canadian West. Control took the form of paternalism, and paternalism was endemic within the educational system. As stated by William Boyd, "...the activities of missionaries overseas and the self-interest of merchant princes in the Indian empire had already set before non-Europeans the astounding claim that Western education was a universal and perennial prescription."[1]

The second section will focus on Native education in the Canadian North-West Territories from 1870 to 1905. The attempt here will be to delineate the net impact of nineteenth-century societal beliefs and educational philosophy on Native groups within the Western frontier.

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1 Boyd, William. *The History of Western Education*. 8th Edition. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967, p. 382).

And although there has been a good deal of study to date directed at education within the North-West Territories, very little research has focused on the amalgamation of the predominant educational and societal theories of this time period, within the practical setting of the Western frontier. How did the new wisdom effect educational policy for the North-West Territories? How would this new wisdom react against the value systems inherent within Cree and Blackfoot communities? Was it fully put into practice within the Western frontier? What aspects of the new wisdom were transplanted, altered or deleted within the frontier setting?

Moreover, this study seeks to display that the underlying motives of the political and educational initiatives in the Territories were the assimilation and pacification of the Native people. While wars, relocation, and attempted extermination served to accomplish this task in previous centuries, the old weapon was still intact. Nineteenth-century cultural genocide of the Native people would be acted out through the institution of the school. The educational institution was the mechanism through which the inherent "superiority" of nineteenth-century industrial society would be proclaimed.

2. Content Organization

Within Chapter I, an attempt is made to define the political, economic, religious and social climate that comprised the value structure of nineteenth-century society. Departing from the strictly historical analysis, Chapter II includes an assessment of the main currents of educational thought back to the French Revolution which would have

substantial bearing on education policy in western Europe and North America during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Adding to the discussion of historical context, Chapter III presents a descriptive account of the political and social conditions as well as the cultural groups existing in the North-West Territories in 1870, whereas, Chapter IV pursues the clash of cultures--nineteenth-century idealism, versus the practicality of the Native frontier--that ensued. The main thrust of this chapter will be to present the outcome that transpired; the development of a particular form of education to accommodate the Cree and Blackfoot communities of the West.

Chapter IV also illustrates the effects of policies of education for the Native people of the North-West territories. The argument here will focus on the underlying methods and goals sought and utilized which served to undermine the value structures and traditions of the Native people. The outcome, as will be explained, was an attempt at cultural genocide.

The concluding chapter (Chapter V) summarizes the net impact of educational policies on native groups within this region; the attempt at assimilation through the institution of the school, and the modes of education which were predominantly utilized by missionaries and other white educators in regard to native schooling. Special attention is given within this chapter to a discussion of the failure of the native assimilationist policy, and the legacy this policy served to create amongst Indian groups on the prairies.

3. Sources

Within the first section of this work, primary publications and articles by both educational and political and social philosophers were utilized as far as possible. An attempt here is made to offer a reinterpretation of the ideologies and conditions which were presumed to be the salient features of nineteenth-century society in order to display their potential net impact on the native people of the Canadian West.

The second section focuses on material extracted from publications of the Canadian and North-West Territory governments. Additionally, publications and documents from the time period 1870 to 1905 were analyzed for relevant material, as were secondary sources contributed by both Native and non-Native writers.

CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I. NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY 1

POLITICS 2

ECONOMICS 7

RELIGION 21

ROMANTICISM, POSITIVISM AND EVOLUTIONARY THEORY 25

CONCLUSION 39

CHAPTER II. NINETEENTH-CENTURY EDUCATIONAL THEORIES 41

1). ENLIGHTENMENT NATURALISM 41

2). NINETEENTH-CENTURY NATURALISM 46

3). NINETEENTH-CENTURY IDEALISM 50

4). NINETEENTH-CENTURY REALISM 58

5). ECONOMIC THEORIES

A). UTILITARIANISM 61

B). SOCIALIST EDUCATION 71

C). MARX AND EDUCATION 76

6). EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES 79

CONCLUSION 89

CHAPTER III. THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES 1870-1905: POLITICS, SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND NATIVE GROUPS 91

THE NEW TERRITORY 91

POLITICS, BOUNDARIES AND COMPOSITION 95

NATIVE LIFE, THE TREATIES AND INCREASED MIGRATION 104

CONCLUSION 118

CHAPTER IV. NATIVE EDUCATION IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES: THE NEW WISDOM TRANSPLANTED: UTILITARIANISM AND "PURPOSEFUL" SCHOOLING 120

TRADITIONAL NATIVE EDUCATION 120

GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR EDUCATION 121

TYPES OF INDIAN EDUCATION 130

A). THE MODEL FOR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS 139

B). CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION 145

C). THE DECLINE OF THE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL MOVEMENT .. 161

CONCLUSION 162

CHAPTER V. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ATTEMPTED ASSIMILATION AND ACCULTURATION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST 164

THE OLD WEAPON: ASSIMILATION 165

THE NEW WISDOM 168

A). ENLIGHTENMENT NATURALISM 172

B). UTILITARIANISM 177

C). EVOLUTIONARY THEORY 186

CONCLUSION 194

BIBLIOGRAPHY 197

CHAPTER I

NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY

In each new century within the history of Western civilization, there has existed a dynamic relationship between society--its political, economic, religious and ideological values and limitations--and its accepted educational beliefs and practices. The institution of the school, or at minimum, the interaction between teacher and pupil, has been central to the goal of inculcating the current societal values within its citizenry. In this the nineteenth century was no different.

The nineteenth century was distinct in regard to preceding centuries, however, in that it represented a period of great change with tumultuous consequences. There was a tremendous thrust forward in industrial and technological development, vast populations migrated from rural to urban centers and from agricultural to manufacturing pursuits, while at the same time advances in transportation and communication threatened the isolation of the modern state. The century began before the dust had settled on the Revolution in France, and ended with heightened competition and distrust amongst nations which would soon lead to international confrontation within the early years of the twentieth century. Within these years a paradigm shift of astronomical proportions had occurred within the evolutionary development of society and its microcosm, the educational realm. And although the ideology of the eighteenth and earlier centuries continued to survive, the new wisdom of the nineteenth century would prevail and

would represent a substantial departure from the humanistic views of the Enlightenment period.

Thus, chapters one and two will trace the development of nineteenth-century patterns of educational thought as a product of the ideological beliefs of the society in which it existed. While chapter one will focus on the political, economic, religious and intellectual trends within European society during the period, chapter two will seek to derive the primary tenants of educational theory within the century. The main aim in doing so will be to describe how industrial society's worldview predetermined the structure for the education of native people which would come to exist within the Canadian North-West Territories in the latter part of the century. However, this discussion will be confined to the chapters which follow.

I. POLITICS

For the historian of the early industrial period it is somewhat a formidable task to attempt a coherent characterization of a unified pattern emerging within the political, economic and religious realms in Europe. Yet, there are enough similarities and trends that exist within this time period to offer an explanatory, if not a causal relationship, between these elements and the prevalent modes of thought and educational ideas which became prominent in nineteenth-century society.

Politically, the French Revolution, although followed by a brief period of conservative backlash, would sever the ties with the philosophies of the old order in Europe. And instead of relying on educational systems that were roughly similar given the backwardness or

the forwardness of each nation, "...during the first half of the Nineteenth Century each nation followed a line of thought and action of its own in virtual independence of its neighbours."[1]

The German Empire remained loosely unified within a structure of sovereign princes until 1871 under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck. The country experienced both external and internal pressures which would guide it to embrace a philosophy of heightened nationalism, whereby individuals were subordinate to the supremacy of the State.

The Prussian defeat to Napoleon in the battles of Jena and Auerstädt in 1806, the humiliating articles of the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, the Revolution of 1848, and the triumph experienced in wars in the 1860s and 1870 all contributed to this goal. Moreover, the members of the German youth movement in the first half of the nineteenth century would reinforce the polarization of German citizens to the auspices of the State. According to Gerald L. Gutek, the German youth were "imbued with a mixture of romanticism, liberalism, and nationalism..." and wished to "...achieve a united Germany governed by liberal principles."[2]

But to a large extent nationalism was pitted against liberalism throughout the remainder of the century, and it would be nationalism which would gain the upper hand. This can be seen quite clearly when King Frederick William IV of Prussia called the Frankfurt Assembly in 1848 in response to liberal insurrections earlier in that year. The protesters wished to free the German Confederation from Austrian control and to attain a constitution that reflected their values. However,

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1 William Boyd, *The History of Western Education*. (8th Edition), (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967, p. 333).

2 Gerald L. Gutek, *A History of the Western Educational Experience*, (New York: Random House, 1972, pp. 318-319).

King William rejected the invitation to become Emperor within the new government, fearing a reprisal from the powerful Austrians. At the same time liberals had hidden behind the veil of the nation when it came to the issue of national minorities. They supported the suppression of the Czech and Hungarian rebellions by imperial forces in Austria, as well as the Prussian Junkers move to abolish Polish self-government.

Likewise Bismarck argued with and ultimately won out against liberals within parliament. Representing the majority in 1862, they opposed increased military expenditure, additional taxes and viewed Bismarck's actions of bypassing the constitution and parliamentary approval as poor examples to the rest of Germany. Yet, as King William I had intended when he appointed the new leader as prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Prussia would rally the other members of the German Confederation to unity through the use of authoritarianism, militarism and nationalism.

Bismarck utilized the wars with Denmark (1864), Austria (1866) and France (1870) to achieve unification, and granted reforms on the domestic front only to appease the industrial working class from an alliance with the German Social Democratic party. After sporadic in-fighting with his Chancellor, the new emperor, William II, dismissed Bismarck and proceeded to loosen anti-socialist laws while embarking on a new foreign policy which would produce the effect of destabilizing the German position in Europe.

France, by comparison, cast away for a time the liberal notions held by the revolutionaries in the last decade of the eighteenth century while under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte. And while in Germany the liberty of the individual was encouraged in support of

national unity, the Napoleonic system was much more absolute. As first consul, and through the use of the authoritarian device of the plebiscite and the guise of the legislative authority of the Council of State, Napoleon set out to accomplish his aim of achieving a well organized and trained military system coupled with an efficient state bureaucracy. The ultimate goal would be an effective defense and administration system able to control his projected worldwide empire. While successful in advancing the centralization, uniformity and efficiency of the government of France through such innovations as the Code Napoleon and the establishment of *lycées* under the supervision of the University of France, Napoleon's nationalistic and conservative tendencies were duly welcomed by the newly restored Bourbon leadership in 1814.

Louis XVIII could not, however, wholeheartedly destroy the reforms credited to Napoleon due to the monarch's unpopularity. Thus the French clergy and aristocracy suffered under Napoleon's Concordat and his famous legal code. Things grew worse during the reactionary regime of Charles X (1824-1830), as he favored restored powers for the French aristocracy and vied for independence from opposition forces. "By his policies Charles immediately declared himself a foe of liberalism, modernization, and the general legacies of the revolutionary and Napoleonic eras."[3] After receiving a non-confidence vote from the members of the Chamber of Deputies, the monarch retaliated by dissolving the chamber and reacted with harsh measures directed at its members, the press, as well as the middle class. The result was the July

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3 Edward McNall Burns, Robert E. Lerner, and Standish Meacham, *Western Civilizations: Their History and Their Culture*. (9th Edition), (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1980, p. 681).

Revolution of 1830 and the establishment of the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe. Although Louis Philippe was considered a liberal in the classical sense, some reforms were granted under his rule as befitted the socioeconomic class he represented. Politically, France would swing from right to left once more within the remainder of the century. Napoleon III would be proclaimed Emperor of the French in 1852 shortly after the 1848 Revolution, and then the formation of the Third Republic would occur after the French defeat by Germany resulting in Napoleon III's abdication in 1870.

England, by contrast, differed substantially from either Germany or France in terms of its political development within the nineteenth century. Unlike Germany, the country remained more geographically united from an early date. In comparison to France, the old order of conservative monarchs had lost power to parliament in the seventeenth century with the execution of Charles I, the period of Cromwell's Provisional government, and the subsequent leadership of Charles II and the limited monarchs following the Restoration period. But like both countries, conservatism characterized England in the early nineteenth century. This ideology was embraced as a response to the Revolution in France, and the fear that agitation would trickle down and arise amongst the underclasses in other geographical areas who were becoming conscious of their various situations. Thus when crisis did occur in England in the early part of the century, not only the Tories but also the Whigs responded with repressive measures. Yet, a liberal movement would be fairly soon in coming.

Under pressure from Lord Charles Grey, the 1832 Reform Bill was passed granting an extension to the franchise by lowering property taxes,

the elimination of many rotten and pocket boroughs and the reorganization of the seats in Parliament, as well as enabling more scrutiny when it came to the registration of voters. Throughout the 1830s until 1848, several other liberal reforms occurred which were in large measure related to the English economic sphere. Examples of these include the Factory Act (1833), The New Poor Law (1834), and the Repeal of the Corn Laws (1846). Others, such as the Emancipation Act (1833) and the agitation conducted by the Chartists' movement prior to 1848, reflected a growing liberal trend within the political culture of the country.

The last part of the century from the late 1860s onward, represented the greatest growth in the British liberalizing tendency. In 1867, the Conservative Party enacted the second Reform Act, and until 1894 Benjamin Disraeli and the Liberal Party leader, William Gladestone, continued to oversee several additional pieces of reform legislation. Again, the reforms that followed closely mirrored the fact that changes had occurred within the economic and social spheres of the country. There was renewed pressure on the British government in the latter half of the century, and this now originated from the labour aristocracy.

II. ECONOMICS

Economically, the nineteenth century would be witness to the effects of the extremes of laissez-faire capitalism. While at odds with the aristocratic class of the old order, and protested by various socialist, humanitarian and religious movements from mid-century onward, capitalist thought would remain a predominant force throughout the century. This was largely due to Adam Smith's theories as contained in

his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), combined with the thought of such writers as Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo and Charles Darwin. Together, the body of philosophy produced by these theorists would have serious repercussions for nineteenth-century society, and as will be shown later, educational policy.

To categorize the class structure in Western Europe at the turn of the century and for the sake of simplicity, one can distinguish between three broad groups of individuals. First, there was the aristocracy, who were tied to agricultural interests, favored conservative views, supported the monarchy, the status-quo, and resisted economic and political reforms. Second, was the new middle class who were analogous to the capitalist class, and who defended liberalism, limited economic and social reform, and were comprised of industrialists and entrepreneurs. The middle class could further be broken into two distinct camps: classical liberals, who favored the use of unrestrained free enterprise, and reform-minded liberals, who supported social legislation to alleviate the conditions of the poor. Third, there was also the working class, who made up the bulk of the population. They experienced the brunt of the abuses of the industrial system, and because of their plight, were drawn to a loose affiliation with socialist reform movements. As Gutek stipulates, "...ideological clashes of the nineteenth century did not always result from a rational choosing between alternative shades of liberalism, conservatism, or socialism but were often motivated by an emotional fervor that reached the height of a moral crusade."[4] Yet, the author maintains that in terms of institutional factors such as education, for

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4 Gutek, p. 169.

example, "ideology was often centered on the aspirations of a particular socioeconomic class...."[5]

As professor of economics at the University of Glasgow, Adam Smith proposed a form of economic thought that would become a fundamental cornerstone of capitalist philosophy in the nineteenth century. Although he attacked mercantilism, as did the French Physiocrats, he differed from them in that he placed greater emphasis on industry and the value of labour. The "mercantile system," a term originally coined by Smith, took satisfaction in creating monopolies and international tension, and according to Smith, it represented a form of "...international commerce in which each nation's interest 'consisted in beggaring all their neighbours.'"[6] Smith believed in a system of economics which instead of promoting hostility among nations, would inspire one another towards excellence. And since economics was a product of the laws of nature, it therefore would function best without human interference. The economic system would be maintained by a division of labour within which each individual would be allowed to follow his or her own pursuits, and thus in doing so, enhance the public good.

Although the concept of "invisible hand" implies lack of government involvement in the economy, Smith did not altogether dismiss the government's role in society as other authors have sometimes presumed. As is evident in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence*:

> We may observe that the government in a civilized country is much more expensive than in a barbarous one; and when we say that one government is more

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5 Gutek, p. 170.

6 Jerry Z. Muller, *Adam Smith In His Time And Ours: Designing the Decent Society*, (New York: The Free Press, 1993, p. 141).

> expensive than another, it is the same as if we say that one country is further advanced in improvement than another. To say that government is expensive and the people not oppressed is to say that the people are rich. There are many expenses necessary in a civilized country for which there is no occasion in one that is barbarous. Armies, fleets, fortified palaces, and public buildings, judges, and officers of the revenue must be supported, and if they be neglected, disorder will ensue.[7]

Yet even though Smith appealed for state involvement in such areas as justice, education, health and the administration of finance, for example, it was the aspect of laissez-faire within his work which drew full attention from nineteenth-century industrialists.

However, where Adam Smith possessed an optimistic view of capitalist economy, Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo reacted much more negatively. Their views were a product of the ill effects experienced by society from the forces of the Industrial Revolution. Within *Essay On Population* (1798), Malthus proposed limits to the extent to which society and wealth could continue to grow. He believed that the population which expanded at a geometric rate would soon outstrip food production and resources which increased in terms of an arithmetic rate. Human beings, particularly those of poorer classes, would be subject to societal checks and balances that he defined as war, famine, disease, and vice.

> Taking the whole earth, instead of this island, emigration would of course be excluded; and, supposing the present population equal to a thousand millions, the human species would increase as the

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7 Adam Smith, *Lectures On Jurisprudence*, R.L. Meek, D.D. Raphael and P.G. Stein (eds.), (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1978, p. 239).

> numbers, 1,2,4,8,16,32,64,128,256 and subsistence as 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9.[8]

> The preventative check, as far as it is voluntary, is peculiar to man, and arises from that distinctive superiority in his reasoning faculties which enables him to calculate distant consequences....The positive checks to population are extremely various, and include every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree contributes to shorten the natural duration of human life.[9]

Importantly, Malthus did not see conditions improving for the poor, since even if governments intervened, the peoples' situation would only temporarily improve. He insisted that the dispossessed postpone marriages in order to curtail the number of children born, and that "poor relief took money, and therefore food, from the mouths of the more productive members of society, and put it into the mouths of the least productive."[10] The outcome of Malthusian thought would help shift the blame for the negative conditions experienced in the lives of the poor and working class from a societal responsibility to a responsibility of the individual.

Influenced by and supporting Malthusian theory was the English economist David Ricardo. In *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817), he also attempts to justify the plight of the poor with a description of his "iron law of wages." To Ricardo, wages tend to stabilize at a subsistence level within the economy, thus allowing population and labour to be maintained. However, if wages increase, the population

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8 T.R. Malthus, *An Essay On Population*,, (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1914, vol. I pp. 10-11).

9 Malthus, vol. I, pp. 12-14.

10 Burns, p. 661.

would ultimately grow since workers would tend to have more children which in turn would lower wages due to jobs becoming more scarce.

> It is truth which admits not a doubt that the comforts and well-being of the poor cannot be permanently secured without some regard on their part, or some effort on the part of the legislature, to regulate the increase of their numbers, and to try to render less frequent among them early and improvident marriages. The operation of the system of poor laws has been directly contrary to this. They have rendered restraint superfluous, and have invited imprudence, by offering it a portion of the wage of prudence and industry.[11]

Moreover, while Ricardo's iron law of wages tended to favor the middle class at the expense of those lower on the status hierarchy, his law of rents focused squarely on attacking the conservative aristocracy who controlled the majority of the agricultural lands.[12]

The liberal laissez-faire position of Smith, Malthus and Ricardo would gain substantial buoyancy supplemented by the scientific work of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), and the advent of the social Darwinistic theories propagated by the likes of Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley (discussed below).

Opposed to unfettered capitalism but still within the middle-class camp were such liberal advocates as John Stuart Mill. Reform-minded liberals like Mill believed that the state must play a limited role in society in order that all members could benefit. In his works, *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *On Liberty* (1859), and *Autobiography (1873)*,

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11 David Ricardo, *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, E.C.K. Gonner (ed), (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1919, pp. 61-62).

12 Ricardo, p. 41.

Mill borrowed extensively from the ideas of Jeremy Bentham. Bentham had written his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* in 1789 in which he advocated his central philosophy of utilitarianism. According to this view, laws and institutions should be measured in terms of their social usefulness, and kept only if the greatest good for the greatest number could be ensured. In Bentham's own words, "an action then may be said to be conformable to the principle of utility, ...when the tendency it has to augment the happiness of the community is greater than any to diminish it."[13]

However, the paradox implicit in Bentham's argument would become evident in terms of the implementation of social policy. On the one hand, he assumes an apparent dark side to human nature in an almost Hobbesian fashion, which is grasping and selfish. On the other hand, government intervention could be utilized to inspire and enforce reform legislation. Thus, his analysis could be used as justification by either those supporting the dispossessed or propertied classes.

Like Bentham, Mill affirms the importance of utility and the freedoms of the individual within the structure of the state. For example, in *Utilitarianism* he contends that "...pleasure, and the freedom from pain, are the only things desirable as ends...."[14] Whereas, in regard to the individual and the state, *On Liberty* stresses his assertions that individuals must be free to express their own opinions as long as the well-being of others is not diminished. The state to Mill, must intervene if this rule is superseded. "As soon as any part of a person's conduct

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13 Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1823, p. 3).

14 Marshall Cohen, *The Philosophy of John Stuart Mill: Ethical, Political and Religious*, (New York: The Modern Library, 1961, p. 330).

affects prejudicially the interests of others, society has jurisdiction over it...."[15]

Applied to the economy, Mill's philosophy would inflict a damper on the ideological values of the classical liberals. For instance, in *Principles of Political Economy*, he suggests methods through which the conditions of the poor and working class may be alleviated. His chapter titles, "Of Popular Remedies for Low Wages," "On the Probable Futurity of the Labouring Classes," and "Of the Grounds and Limits of the Laissez-Faire Or Non-Interference Principle," provide evidence for this.[16] Yet as Allan Ryan contends in response to Mill, "throughout his life he wanted less government rather than more...."[17] And even though he considered early forms of socialist thought within his writings (for instance, the work of Robert Owen or Charles Fourier), his adherence to a capitalist philosophy is more conclusive. In his own words he contends that

> a people...who look habitually to their government to command or prompt them in all matters of joint concern--who expect to have everything done for them, except what can be made an affair of more habit and routine--have their faculties half developed, their education is defective in one of its most important branches.[18]

In response to the free hand of capitalism and the effects of the Industrial Revolution, socialist economic thought became ever more apparent as the nineteenth century progressed. This occurred first in

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15 John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Elizabeth Rapaport (ed), (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1978, p. 73).

16 John Stuart Mill, *The Principles of Political Economy: With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, Books I-V, J.M. Robson (ed), (Toronto: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965, Book II, p. 355; Book IV, p. 758; and Book V, p. 936).

17 Allan Ryan, *J.S. Mill*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974, p. 175).

18 Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book IV, p. 943.

terms of the utopian socialism of, for example, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen; and secondly with the scientific socialist thought of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Of the utopian socialists, there existed several philosophical concerns that served to bond them together as a group. Like the reform-minded liberals, the utopian socialists were concerned with achieving the greatest good for the greatest number. Thus, their main goal was to address society and social ills with this in mind. Additionally, they saw economic individualism and competitive spirit as potentially threatening to the well-being of society. Moreover, they exercised little faith in governments and elected officials, instead tending to focus on what Cole refers to as "producers." "...If the economic and social sides of men's affairs could be properly organized, the traditional forms of government and political organization would soon be superseded...."[19] Finally, they were progressive in that they believed in the new order, and in scientific and industrial achievement, although they wished to reconcile this with an appropriate well-being and livelihood for the lower class.

However, these three utopian socialists, as mentioned above, also differed to some extent in regard to their individually held beliefs. Saint-Simon (1760-1825), the earliest of the three, was influenced by the forces of change resulting from the Industrial Revolution in France. He felt that the old ruling èlite--both aristocratic and religious--was incapable of leadership in the modern industrial era. What Saint-Simon envisioned was an advanced technocratic state run by a managerial class made up of industrialists and industrial workers which he termed the

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19 G.D.H. Cole, *The Life of Robert Owen* (3rd ed), (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1965, p. 3).

"industriels." This group would have the necessary focus to augment scientific planning and the technological development of society. In his own words he states, "the only class in society whose ambition and political courage we should like to see increased,...is, in general, the class of the industriels...."[20] Furthermore, he did not intend workers' salaries to be limited, provided their work was productive to society, nor did he believe in communal ownership of property. Instead, equality of opportunity at the expense of privilege based on birth was important.

Like Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen did not acknowledge a class conflict between factory owners and workers, as did the later scientific socialists. On the contrary, they distinguished the authority vested in the old order as the instigator of an unequal distribution of power and income among industrial workers. For instance, Fourier insists that

> ...I am far from endorsing the views of the fools who would wish to tear down the factories. I merely wish to...establish a system of distribution which will assure the lower classes of a proportional share in the increased wealth and a minimum sufficient for a decent life.[21]

Instead he saw as a problem, the economic aspects of production, consumption, distribution and circulation within the country. Production was often broken down into family estates instead of more efficient communities; consumption of goods according to unequal distribution was predominantly enjoyed by the wealthy and idle members

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20 Alexander Gray, *The Socialist Tradition: Moses to Lenin*, (London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1948, p. 151).

21 Charles Fourier, *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier*, Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenvu (eds), (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971, p. 127).

of society; and those in control of the circulation of goods took advantage of producers. Likewise, Owen contends in his *Report to the County of Lanark* in 1821:

> That the deficiency of employment for the working classes, cannot proceed from want of wealth, or of the means of adding greatly to that which now exists, but from some defect in distributing this extraordinary addition of new wealth throughout society, or, to speak commercially, from the want of market co-extensive with the means of production.[22]

To Fourier as to Owen, the remedy did not exist in attempting a change in the state apparatus as Saint-Simon believed. Alternatively, the answer was to be found in the establishment of co-operative land-based communities. In turn, these utopian communities would spread as people came to believe in their virtues, and would change the economic and social arrangements of individuals in society.

However, whereas Fourier's "phalanstères," as he called them, would be comprised of agricultural lands, workshops and living areas which would ideally accommodate eighteen hundred persons, Owen's original attempt at utopia involved the factory town of Lanark, Scotland. Even though Owen would later come to see the value of agricultural pursuits within utopian communities, he viewed the world as developing in terms of industrial advancement. By comparison, Fourier ignored industrial society to a great extent, concentrating instead on agriculture. Further, while both Fourier and Owen vied for voluntary capital investments in their projects, Fourier advocated a remuneration scheme

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22 Robert Owen, *Report to the County of Lanark*, (Glasgow: University Press, 1821, p. 4).

of variable profit (proportional) on investments, while Owen believed in a fixed rate of interest.[23] Both economic philosophers appealed to the environment as creating the ideal situation and happiness for individuals and the development of human relationships, but Owen unlike Fourier, laid somewhat more responsibility on the importance of education for molding the perfect character in individuals.

The utopian socialist movement would fail due largely to its lack of public support, since it attacked the family, religion, seemed impractical, and lacked financial investment. Scientific socialism would appear later in the century. Fueled by its version of the injustices of the capitalist state, and sympathizing with the industrial workers' plight, it offered a new remedial action which was much more radical in content.

Karl Marx originally had left his Prussian homeland to study Saint-Simonian doctrine in Paris. After meeting Frederick Engels, and being expelled from France, he joined the Communist League in Brussels. Marx would return to his homeland shortly after the Revolution of 1848, only to be expelled for inciting radical activity. Thus, he would reside in England for the remainder of his life. Marx and Engels' two most important works, *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), and *Capital* (1867), set forth their socialist formula.

Borrowed from Hegel, was the Marxist conception of historic materialism. Hegel had conceived of history and change in dialectical terms, as a struggle whereby a prior condition (thesis) would lead to its negation (antithesis), and through an internal tension between these two forces, a new existence would evolve (synthesis). So it was to Marx that

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23 G.D.H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought*, (London: Macmillian and Co., 1953, p. 99).

historic development could be viewed in this manner, although he specifically couched his vision in terms of a class struggle. For example, in *The Communist Manifesto* he advised that "...consequently the whole history of mankind...has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited...."[24]

In the nineteenth century, Marx saw the state as being essentially synonymous with the *bourgeoisie* class. According to Marx, the formation of an organized *proletariat* would be inevitable since their status was declining due to the abolishment of diversified skill from the spread of machine technology, the periodic upheavals in the market place, and their value being reduced to that of a mere commodity resulting in alienation. His model of society was deterministic in design since he believed the mode of production--substructure--could effect and change such societal aspects as, for example, institutions, religion, laws and relationships--superstructure. A further premise within his argument encompassed the idea of surplus value. According to Marx, this implied that labour represented part of the overall market value of a commodity. It follows that since workers are kept at mere subsistence levels with respect to wages, surplus value, or the difference between what labourers receive and what they produce, is created.

> The result was that, in proportion as capital accumulates, the condition of the worker, be his wages high or low, necessarily grows worse....Thanks to the working of this law, poverty grows as accumulation of capital grows. The accumulation of wealth at one pole of society involves a simultaneous accumulation of poverty, labour torment, slavery, ignorance,

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24 K. Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1952, p. 20).

> brutalisation, and moral degradation, at the opposite pole.[25]

In terms of Marxist philosophy, a socialist state would be unavoidable. As wealth becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands in response to the centralization of industry, and as workers also become centralized because of an increase in the tendency for their downward economic mobility, the workers will unite to overthrow the capitalist system. Thereafter, according to Marx, workers will form an international rule of the proletariat. "...As the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within nations vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."[26]

After mid-century the èlite class was becoming more homogeneous. And to followers of Marxist philosophy the suggestion of plutocracy could be evidenced by new class arrangements. The new business class mingled freely with members of the former aristocracy, frequenting their establishments, and universities, and making inroads into their traditional seats of power. In regard to one study of the British class structure, between 1858-79 73 per cent of the millionaires originated from the landowner class, whereas, 14 per cent represented business interests. By the turn of the century, however, this formula had changed to 27 per cent and 38 per cent respectively.[27] Radical socialism,

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25 K. Marx and Frederick Engels, *Capital*, (New York: International Publishers, 1967, vol. I, p. 714).

26 K. Marx and Frederick Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, p. 72.

27 Robert Gildea, *Barricades And Borders: Europe 1800-1914*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, p. 307).

nevertheless, would be halted for a time after the 1870s by the governments in western Europe. This was due to the concessions made by Liberal governments in Britain, France, and Spain (after 1876), and authoritarianism in Germany under Bismarck. Indeed, one may speak of the development of a new democratic socialism near the century's end, which would employ liberal tendencies with limited economic concessions.

Yet, while the more radical scientific socialism, or communism as it came to be known, would belong to the early twentieth century, the nineteenth century would be remembered for its great strides toward a materialist economic culture. The Enlightenment had encouraged the pursuit of progress in science, reason, education, government reform and individual liberties. The progress in industry and development of machinery was simply a by-product of this. And the industrial displays in the Crystal Palace in London of 1851, the Vienna Exposition of 1873, and the Paris Expositions of 1878, 1889 and 1893 were testimony to this fact. Free enterprise, individualism and competitive spirit thrived during the century and would endure almost unharmed into the next.

III. RELIGION

Early within the nineteenth century, Christianity remained well in tune with the dominant culture of society. Both its Catholic and Protestant branches were experiencing somewhat of a religious revival. This was in large part due to the fear that echoed across the continent in response to the Revolution in France. For example, Robert Gildea cites evidence that although the numbers of priests in France was only 36,000, half the number of 1789, the years 1814 to 1830 witnessed a

significant increase. Ordinations went from a low of 350 per year to 2,357 in 1830, and "Nuns devoted to education and charity increased from 12,500 to 25,000 during this same time period.[28] Likewise, the Protestant numbers also expanded. Again the Revolution had placed fear in individuals, doubting as they were the nature of men's hearts. This coupled with the values of the Enlightenment, motivated the Protestant Awakening in Germany. Additionally, however, were the Peitist Movement which crossed over to Britain in the form of Methodism from the continent early in the century, as well as the reformed Calvinist movement. The numbers of Nonconformist, evangelical churches in England--Methodists, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Baptists, etc.--had grown to that of 3,438 in 1811, while the numbers of Anglican churches were only a mere 2,533.[29] The mainstream Liberal and democrats attacked the fundamentalists wherever possible since according to Elie Halévy, they were "exasperated by the unexpected revival on unreasoning illumination."[30]

However, in another sense, the Protestant Dissenters actually represented a new liberal movement. They had begun to wrestle power from the established Church, causing a breakdown in the old authority; they catered to the workers of the Industrial Revolution across the countryside, emphasizing a philosophy of predestination and the importance of the work ethic; they reestablished a new moral code of conduct which had been broken down under the old regime; and they conducted moral crusades on issues of public concern such as slavery.

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28 Gildea, p. 130.

29 Elie Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1961, p.428).

30 Halévy, 428.

By comparison, the old authority of the Catholic Church was more immune to disintegration. While Pope Pius VII had some sympathies with the philosophies of the Revolution, his immediate successors, most notably, Gregory XVI, were much more conservative in outlook. Upon his election to the Papacy in 1846, Cardinal Mastai Ferreti, who would become known as Pope Pius IX, was cheered by both liberals throughout Europe and Italian nationalists within Italy. Yet, although Pius IX was perceived to be much more liberal than his predecessors, in fact this was not true. His "reign...saw the fullest exposition and exercise of the authority of the Pope and was more prolific of doctrinal statements and condemnation than any since the Counter-Reformation"[31] Within his *Syllabus of Errors* published in 1864, the Pope attacked various liberal notions such as the separation of church and State, freedom of thought, and belief in materialism and indifferentism (the belief that one religion is just as good as another). In the final pages of the *Syllabus*, the Pope took issue with a contemporary's criticism by "condemning the proposition that 'the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, liberalism and modern civilization'"[32] Moreover, Pius IX was most concerned with the issue of his Temporal Power which was quickly being eroded.

Upon Pope Pius IX's death in 1878, Pope Leo XIII entered the Papacy, and although he was less rigid and more accommodating than Pius IX, he still granted little to the liberal or anticlerical movements. Among his successes were the ideology of Social Catholicism, which

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31 Josef Altholz, "The Churches in the Nineteenth Century," in *A Century For Debate, 1789-1914: Problems in the Interpretation of European History*, Peter N. Stearns (ed), (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1969, p. 273).

32 Altholz, p. 273.

petitioned labour leaders for the fair treatment of industrial workers, as well as a limited promotion of modernism by encouraging some focus on science and modern criticism.

On the whole, by the latter part of the century the role of religion in society was in decline. In Germany, Bismarck was engaging the Catholic Church with his policy of *kulturkampf*, limiting church authority under the direction of the state, and expelling members from the country such as the Jesuit Order. But this would be a losing battle for Bismarck. It was clear the socialists were winning over the workers throughout the country, and he would need the Catholics as a coalition against them. The situation was worse for the Catholic Church in France. There, anticlericalism resulted in the abolishment of the church's right to educate the citizenry in 1901, and the preeminence of the state over the church in 1906. Further, after a Catholic resurgence in Italy and Spain, the result was their own version of anticlericalism. And in England workers were also drawn into the hands of socialist movements, while organized religion catered more to the privileged classes. Indeed, as Victor Hugo had contended as early as 1850, the Church

> 'forbids science and genius to go beyond the missaland which wants to cloister thought and dogma. Every step that has been taken by intelligence in Europe has been taken without it and in spite of it. Its story is written in the annals of human progress, but it is written on the reverse side.'[33]

Yet, support for religion did not pass away altogether. Immigrants, nationalistic movements, philosophies, the rise of anti-Semitism, and the

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33 Gildea, p. 256.

dissatisfaction with radical politics often encouraged the rejuvenation of faith.

There were other more important forces at work in Europe, however, which would serve to erode the position of religious doctrine. The first of these was the strong belief in the advancement of the human potential, as could be seen with technological innovation and imperial control of foreign territories; the second was the new held belief in intellectual circles of positivist science; and the third was evolutionary theory which was credited to Darwin and his defenders. Of this last aspect, established religions, due to the growth of a liberal rationale amongst them, had already been allocating certain passages of the Bible to myth and historic inaccuracies. Evolutionary theory only capitalized on this apparent lack of literal belief. All three elements would work to produce a new wisdom in the second half of the nineteenth century, and this new doctrine would be transplanted to European colonies abroad.

IV. ROMANTICISM, POSITIVISM AND EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Accompanying this new wisdom of the nineteenth century, were developments in the fields of philosophy and science. These intellectual movements were connected with a separation with the past, progress in technology, discoveries in science and the physical world, and the undeniable notion that humankind was a product of the natural world and that there was justifiable evidence for this.

Romanticism was at the center of this new intellectual movement. Not only did it react strongly against the rationalism of the Enlightenment period which explained nature with rational, observable, and orderly laws, it supported a view that the world was much more

complex and difficult to define. It put a great deal more weight on an intrinsic factor in terms of explanation. Thus, human beings were awarded character, personality and emotions. Yet the extrinsic side was not denied. One's innate, sensibility was inherited and interacted with the perceived external environment to form knowledge. Romanticism stressed creativity, individualism and a connection with the past. Because of this last factor, many historians have displayed a strong relationship with this movement and nationalism which was also an important factor in the development of the nineteenth century.

Due to its nationalistic overtones, romanticism could easily be linked with a conservative mentality, although the movement represented liberal thought as well. Romanticism as a liberal movement could be seen in its break with the old ideas of the Enlightenment. As stated above, Enlightenment thinkers painted a far too simplistic picture of the world for adherents of this new movement. Additionally, instead of insisting on finite boundaries of human potential, romantic thinkers conceived of human abilities and endeavors as much more limitless. Furthermore, loyalty to the nation, loyalty to faith, and loyalty to people were important trends in this movement. As Brison Gooch has stated referring to the French Revolution, "liberty, equality, and fraternity became associated with the 'people,'..." and "in these people, nationalism quickly became imperialism as the moral urge to carry the fruits of the Revolution to others was not to be denied."[34] Later in the century this form of identity with the group in order to affect change in the external world would lead individuals to various affiliations with Christian,

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34 Brison D. Gooch, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century: A History*, (Toronto: Collier-MacMillian, 1970, p. 133).

humanitarian and socialist movements, for example. However, in a sense, flexibility was demanded in these new group affiliations to allow them to conform to the romantic ideal.

Yet, romanticism displayed an obvious conservative tendency as well. Due to their emphasis on the past, romantics appealed to the traditional aspects of European culture. Thus, such elements as monarchs, empires, and religion were significant since they drove home the perception of the continuity of development relating to the nation, the people and their glorious past. For example, the movement rallied around the ideals of the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), and the ensuing Holy Alliance. The Congress was able to bring back the concept of legitimacy to leadership in Europe, and it attempted to guarantee stability by preserving the status quo. In the words of Prince Klemens von Metternich,

> by this course the monarchs may fulfill the duties imposed upon them by Him, who by entrusting them with power, has charged them to watch over the maintenance of justice, and the rights of truth. Placed beyond the passions which agitate society, it is in the days of trial chiefly that they are called upon to...show themselves as they are, fathers invested with the authority belonging by right to the heads of families, to prove that, in days of mourning, they know how to be just, wise and therefore strong.[35]

Moreover, as alluded to by Metternich in this passage, the Holy Alliance, which was agreed to by the leaders of Russia, Prussia, Austria and France at the Congress, restated the salient features of divine right. If any disagreement or inconsistency arose between them, they would

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35 Prince Richard Metternich (ed), *Memoirs of Prince Metternich: 1815-1829*, (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1881, vol. III, p. 468).

assume the guidance of Divine power working toward the best interests for all (this could be seen, for instance, in the leadership of Charles X in France).

Romanticism also appealed to a sense of unique national identity. It was the philosophers and historical writers of the period, reinforced by literary and artistic achievements, who presented the case for national identity and cultural uniqueness. For example, in Germany where the movement showed great strength, Johann von Herder (1744-1803) first talked about the connection of past with present and the distinct nature of German identity (*Volksgeist*), in his *Ideas For a Philosophy of Human History*. Others, such as Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829), Frederick von Savigny (1779-1861), Georg William Hegel (1770-1831), and J.G. Fichte (1772-1814) added to this sentiment. Importantly, in Fichte's *Addresses to the German Nation* in 1808, he deviated from the previous authors' work, stating that Germany not only possessed its own distinct cultural identity, but it was "superior" to that of other countries.[36] But historicism in the romantic vernacular was also written in France by Augustin Thierry (1795-1856) and Jules Michelet (1798-1874), and in Britain by Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), and in the form of the historical novel by Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). Within all these authors' works, the themes of cultural continuity, cultural distinctiveness, and nationalism were paramount.

As mentioned above, there also existed a religious revival on the continent and in Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century. To a large extent, this new adherence to faith was spurned on by the romantic

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36 Burns, p. 702.

movement and its character was predominantly Catholic in origin. In 1802, François-René de Chateaubriand published *The Genius of Christianity*, which has been credited to a great extent in increasing the interest in religion during this time period. His work glamorized the Medieval Period--with its monarchs, cathedrals and artistic works. Primarily, however, Chateaubriand's work focused on the omni-present nature of the Catholic Church in Medieval society, and appealed to the romantic sense of tradition, mystic and national pride. While Chateaubriand as well as others promoted Catholicism, individuals that had been formerly Protestant, nominal Christians, or atheists were also motivated to embrace the faith. Benedetto Croce, for instance, credits this to the fact that romantics wished for religious transcendence and the peace it promoted. "And as the highest expression of this sort of transcendence and of this imperative ruling was the Catholic faith...."[37] Likewise, R.B. Mowat agrees, but adds that because of fierce historical criticism in relation to the Gospel, "...many people felt drawn to the Church which just denies or ignores all this, which confidently asserts that it *knows*, and that it has the complete answer to every religious problem."[38]

Yet there were those who inspired a type of religiosity, that while not truly Catholicism, was almost indistinguishable from it. This was practiced by the members of the Oxford Movement in England. It originated in 1833 at Oxford with John Keble, Hurrell Froude, and the theologian, John Henry Newman. As spokesman for the group, Newman

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37 Benedetto Croce, "History of Europe in the Nineteenth Century," in *A Century For Debate, 1789-1914: Problems in the Interpretation of European History*, Peter N. Stearns (ed), (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1969, p. 52).

38 R.B. Mowat, *The Romantic Age: Europe in the Early Nineteenth Century*, (Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Press, 1969, p. 174).

criticized the Anglican Church, and attempted to align its doctrine more closely to that of the Catholic order. Like the romantic writers in the Catholic tradition, the movement stressed the Medieval Period and the fact that the current Anglican practices resembled those of the Catholic Church to a great degree. While the Oxford movement managed to influence many Protestant members to convert to Catholicism, including Newman himself, as well as unintentionally strengthening the position of that Church, it rapidly decreased in importance by mid-century. The defection of Newman, plus his blatant attack on the Anglican tradition through a series of publications, had severely weakened the movement's integrity.

However, the romantic movement inspired a mainstream Protestant revival as well. Although it had originated before the Enlightenment, the Peitist movement grew extensively throughout the eighteenth century on the continent. The German variety reacted to formal Lutheranism and the emphasis on science and the rationalistic ideology of the Enlightenment. The Peitists were puritanical in outlook and applied the romantic belief in individualism, inner emotionalism and conscience when it came to religious practice. To them, "a mystical emotionalism seemed...a far sounder guide than reason, whose errors were often demonstrable and whose successes were handmaidens to the human feelings of pride."[39]

Reacting to the French Revolution and the downfall of Napoleon and the resulting Congress, Peitists' numbers grew quickly after the turn of the century. One of the converts, Madame de Krüdener a Baltic

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39 Gooch, p. 165.

German, had urged the faith onward utilizing her close affiliation to Alexander I. She not only helped to cement the Holy Alliance, but professed prophecies across Europe, and encouraged amongst people humanitarian concern and union with God. Likewise, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) a German theologian and philosopher, built on the work of Immanuel Kant in support of religious faith. In *The Christian Faith*, Schleiermacher emphasized the religious experience as distinctly emotional, and stressed total devotion and dedication to faith. He contrasted rationalism's belief of discovering truth through knowledge, and the importance individuals placed on one particular doctrine--Calvinism, Lutheranism, or Catholicism, for example--ahead of another. To him, one faith was no more important than another; the emphasis should be on one's devotion.

Additionally, Methodism which had originated with John Westley, grew in England against the current of Anglicanism. It appealed to emotionalism and hysteria at times, and deemed as important justification by faith and salvation. This was particularly true of the Primitive Methodist movement which splintered away from the main Methodist branch in 1811. This group was more evangelical in nature, directing their proselytizing at members of the working class, and displayed a sizable increase in numbers within the early part of the century. Even the main body of Methodists who catered more to middle class interests grew from 90,619 in 1800 to 358,277 in 1850.[40]

Although the romantic movement on the whole did not last beyond mid-century, its legacies continued. It allowed for freer emotion and

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40 Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962, p. 184).

expression amongst individuals, and this would continue into the twentieth century. Not only did aspects such as creativity and imagination gain respect again, but freedom, liberty and individuality would be cries within proceeding eras. Furthermore, near the end of the century, inquiry would again turn toward "the mysteries and irrationalities of man's nature...," and a focus on man within society "in terms of consciousness rather than those of mechanism or even ideas."[41]

Its decline occurred as the result of several factors. First, the conservative character during the initial part of the century declined as the century wore on. Second, as an outcome of the Revolutions of 1848 liberal idealism had also been dampened and the importance of the individual and individualism weakened. Third, the philosophy of realism, which would exist simultaneously with a new scientific emphasis in society, defied the existence of romanticism. Realism as a movement was concerned with people and events that could be witnessed within the world, rather than relying on imagination, feelings, and an inner consciousness. Importantly, it utilized scientific means of analysis, particularly observation, but it also "followed science in its search for laws that determined the behavior of human beings in society, whether they were laws of heredity or laws of the environment."[42] Fourth, there was a return to a philosophy similar to Deism which was associated with the rationalistic philosophy of the Enlightenment Period. In other words, inductive rules of investigation had returned to popularity after the concentration on deductive reasoning during the romantic period had

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41 M.S. Anderson, *The Ascendancy of Europe: 1815-1914* (2nd ed), (London: Longman, 1985, p. 331).

42 Gildea, p. 277.

lost vitality. Additionally, this new positivistic science gained relevance due to discoveries in both the physical and natural worlds, and the need for an organized, systematic method of analysis involving the observation, recording and storing of data related to research.

At the forefront of this movement was the social scientist, Auguste Comte. Like other philosophers of the nineteenth century, Comte positioned his new science within an historical framework. He referred to his historic stage theory as "the great discovery of the year 1822," and it was comprised of three independent stages, that were in a sense a reaction to the political instability he witnessed in society. According to Comte, these were the theological stage, metaphysical stage and positive stage, and knowledge would have to pass through these three stages in order to develop fully. Thus, he structured intellectual disciplines in order of the simplest and most remote to the most complex and concrete, and stated that the simplest disciplines would progress through the three stages first, followed by the more complex (this hierarchy is represented below).

mathematics
astronomy
physics
chemistry
biology
sociology[43]

Comte's ideas contained in *The Course Of Positive Philosophy* (1830) and *Systems of Positive Polity* (1851-1854), stressed the

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43 Randall Collins and Michael Makowsky, *The Discovery of Sociology* (3rd ed), (New York: Random House, 1984, p. 27).

interrelatedness of man with society and with the rest of the universe as an organic whole. And like all other parts of the universe, humankind and society were subject to the evolutionary laws of nature and therefore it was futile for individuals to attempt to affect change in the world. As the author states, "indeed the extensive modifications of which society admits, go far to keep up the common mistake that social phenomena are not subject to any constant law."[44] In fact, Comte even subjected God to these natural laws when he contends that "we know that the great Organism, superior though it be to all beings known to us, is yet under the domain of inscrutable laws...."[45] To Comte, the main attribute of science was that it could derive "truth" through the process of observation. Thus, science would help implement an ideal society which would be based on observable truth rather than systems of belief.

While discoveries in experimental science and mathematics continued unabated throughout the remainder of the century with the likes of individuals such as Michael Faraday, Lord Kelvin, Bernhard Ricmann, Herman von Helmholtz, Dmitri Mendeleyev, Baron Justus von Liebig, Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch to name a few, the work that resulted in producing the greatest impact on nineteenth-century society was conducted by Charles Darwin. His major contribution, *Origin of Species* published in 1859, would not only cause repercussions throughout the scientific world, it would alter both social theory and the values within society to a large extent.

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44 Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity*, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1875, vol. I, p. 23).

45 Comte, p. 284.

Although Darwin had been influenced by earlier works relating to evolution, such as that produced by Charles Lyell, he was nonetheless the first scientist to incur extensive public attention on this issue. As H. Hearder has expressed, he offended both the Judaic and Christian authorities as well as Victorian sensibility by presenting man as a descendant of a lower animal species, and "only later was Darwin's theory to be evidence of the grandeur and irrevocability of human progress."[46] At its heart was inferences made from a collection of observations on board the *Beagle* in the early 1830s.

He questioned the "fixity of species" doctrine, noting that species were in a state of flux, from a relatively simple state, to a progressively more complex and differentiated state. From this, he proposed the idea of natural selection whereby the life of all organisms on earth could be viewed in terms of a struggle for existence.

> Owing to the struggle for life, any variation, however slight and from what ever cause proceeding, if it be in any degree profitable to an individual of any species, in its infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to external nature, will tend to the preservation of that individual, and will generally be inherited by its offspring.[47]

His argument in regard to natural selection had been aided along with the help of Malthus' *Essay On Population* in terms of the stresses caused by overpopulation,[48] and had been utilized to a limited extent before

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46 H. Hearder, *Europe in the Nineteenth Century: 1830-1880* (2nd ed), (London: Longman, 1966, p. 399).

47 Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life*, (New York: Avend Books, 1979, p. 115).

48 Gooch, p. 293.

Origin of Species was published. Moreover, in his work Darwin had specifically stated that not only did all lower forms of living things evolve in this fashion, but humans had developed from primitive ancestors as well. Yet, although he testified that the best adaptation allowed organisms to live longer and that "favored" individuals produce a greater proportion of the next generation than those not favored, his work did not include value judgments regarding the superiority of those that were favored. However, it would be other individuals who would be responsible for extending its original significance.

Both Ernst Haeckel and Thomas Huxley helped to popularize and defend the work of Charles Darwin. Haeckel promoted Darwinistic thought on the European continent. As a physician and eminent biologist, he advocated the similarity of human beings to lower forms of animals, and maintained that they differed only by degree. His argument within *The Riddle of the Universe* (1899) was materialistic in design since it contended that matter represents the only essence of the universe, and through change and interaction, protoplasm developed into organisms of continued complexity. Like Comte and other evolutionists, his work presupposes a stage theory, however, unlike Comte and even Herbert Spencer's agnosticism, Haeckel was strictly irreligious.

Huxley who achieved very little formal education had risen to the level of academic excellence in Britain within the field of science. Thus, with this respect granted from within academic circles and his continuous attacks on the institution of the church, he helped to advance the cause of evolutionary thought. He utilized his most famous work, *Evidence of Man's Place in Nature* (1863) as a vehicle for this purpose. Within this work, he continued the Darwinian proposition of

the psychical unity of humans with lower animals and the monogenist racial theory assuming the common origin of man. Also, like Darwin, he supported the idea that in humans instinct is eventually overtaken by consciousness. Yet in *Evolution and Ethics*, he added a social dimension to the theory in terms of the superiority of some individuals over others as well as an ethical connotation.

> I think it must be obvious to everyone, that whether we consider the internal or the external interests of society, it is desirable they should be in the hands that are endowed with the largest share of energy, of industry, of intellectual capacity, of tenacity of purpose, while they are not devoid of sympathetic humanity; and, in so far as the struggle for the new means of enjoyment tends to place such men in possession of wealth and influence, it is a process which tends to the good of society.[49]

> Social progress means checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest, in respect of the whole of the conditions which obtain, but of those who are ethically the best.[50]

Thus to Huxley, the natural order of human relations gave way to an enlightened ethical order, providing that individuals progressed to a high level within the modern society.

It was Herbert Spencer who actually coined the phrase "survival of the fittest." Although he was also trained in science, he began writing articles for popular magazines that had to do with both a scientific and

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49 James Paradis and George C. Williams (eds), *T.H. Huxley's Evolution and Ethics: With New Essays on its Victorian and Sociobiological Context*, (Princton, N.J.: Princton University Press, 1989, p. 100).

50 Paradis, p. 81.

political nature, aimed at more than just an academic audience. While he wrote several important works including his ten volume set entitled *Synthetic Philosophy* written between 1860 and 1896, his importance lies in the fact that he developed scientific evolutionary theory into social evolutionary theory to a greater degree and in a much more outspoken fashion than did Huxley.

Like other evolutionists, Spencer contends that the evolutionary process involves an adaptation to the environment as it moves from simplicity to complexity. He disagrees with Comte, however, in regard to Comte's assertions that society represents a moral unit and in terms of his perception of the reorganization of society under the supervision of scientific theory. Importantly within Spencer's scheme, he makes universal statements regarding types of societies that exist within the world and their evolutionary progress toward complexity. The "primitive" society represents the author's lowest level of civilization, followed by "ancient" and "modern" societies. In terms of "primitive" man, for example, Spencer concludes that he is "...ill fitted for overcoming the difficulties in the way of advance...unfit for cooperation," and "...his type of mind is deficient in the faculties required for progress in knowledge."[51] The growth in complexity is exemplified in each level of society in terms of regulative systems, such as the formation of states and defense systems; sustaining systems, relating to the organization of the economic system; and an exchange and distribution system, which represents the level of infrastructure.

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51 Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1910, vol. I, p. 436).

Like Darwin, Spencer borrowed from the work of Thomas Malthus, but Spencer applied strictly social connotations to his form of evolutionary theory. Malthus had discussed natural checks on overpopulation due to the limited carrying capacity of the earth. Spencer added to this, postulating that population checks, however negative, would enhance human creativity, intelligence, skill and ability. "As a result of the competition for survival, the more intelligent and adaptive individuals will inherit the earth, populating it with equally intelligent and effective offspring."[52] While Spencer was at times cynical in his works, suggesting for instance, the existing level of industrial society was about as good as human nature allowed, he believed quite strongly in the ethics of noninterference with the "superior" class. Since they were wealthier and better educated, they thus had succeeded in the struggle for existence. Additionally, Spencer even hinted at the subordination of one society by another:

> For when, the struggle for existence between societies by war having ceased, there remains only the industrial struggle for existence, the final survival and spread must be on the part of those societies which produce the largest number of the best individuals--individuals best adapted for life in the industrial state.[53]

CONCLUSION

The outcome of Darwin's scientific theory and the resulting social Darwinistic theories for society were obvious. These theories had stipulated that society was in the process of evolving. The most complex

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52 Gutek, p. 257.

53 Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 610.

society--the industrial society of their time--was in the envious position of occupying the most highly developed level. Combined with the economic doctrine of laissez-faire, it would thus be improper for well-meaning Christians, humanitarians, or socialists to intervene in order to change or redirect society's natural progression. Events could continue to unfold as if predestined to occur, and if individuals in this process were trampled by this linear development, then so be it. Their abilities were somehow lacking. Social Darwinistic theory would push the blame for the inadequacies of nineteenth-century industrial society to an intrinsic level within the individual. When coupled with imperialism which became more prominent in the later half of the century, this theory would take a more vehement turn. Evolutionary theory would not only be used as a justification stance for the liberal middle class, but for Industrial versus "primitive" society and white-European versus non-white culture.

CHAPTER II

NINETEENTH-CENTURY EDUCATIONAL THEORIES

The history of education in the nineteenth century does not directly reflect the political, economic, religious and social conditions of that century. That is, innovations in the educational sphere were motivated by precursors in these other four realms, but they managed to stay current, in many cases, long after the initial instigator had faded from popularity. This is particularly true when analyzing educational theory transported from Europe to its colonies. Therefore, it is easy to see the practice and effects of Enlightenment education lingering throughout the nineteenth century. Yet, within the course of the century, other prominent modes of education would appear as well, and would linger or dissipate disproportionately in relation to the continuation of their societal initiator. Thus, there would also be an emphasis placed upon education from the perspectives of nineteenth-century naturalism, idealism, realism, economic theories and evolutionism. Most of these in one form or another would be transplanted to the Canadian frontier.

1). ENLIGHTENMENT NATURALISM

Jean Jacques Rousseau was perhaps the most well known of Enlightenment thinkers, and his work fostered a movement within educational thought which continued in strength throughout the nineteenth- and well into the twentieth centuries. Yet, as can be quite

clearly seen, Rousseau's work often embodies both the rationalistic philosophy which is characteristically associated with the Enlightenment, as well as idealism, more directly in tune with nineteenth-century romanticism. Indeed, as Mehdi Nakosteen contends, Rousseau was "at once enlightened and suspicious of enlightenment. A Calvinist, he turned Catholic, to return to Calvinism, only to give it up again in favor of what he called the 'religion of nature.'"[1] Regardless of some inconsistencies on Rousseau's part, his work *Emile* is the best indication of the educational philosophy of this time period.

Rousseau lived within a time frame which witnessed harsh discipline in educating, coupled with an emphasis on classical dogma and a stiff formality. To a large extent *Emile* was a reaction against this. At its essence, however, it brought man back into nature rather than "imprisoning him within artificial institutions."[2] To Rousseau, the challenge would be how to educate the boy Emile in order to not remove him from the innocence of nature (Rousseau's concept of the "noble savage"). And although he criticized society's institutions as progressing to an unnatural state through human corruption of them, he believed there was no ideal society. Thus, his method of education would have to suffice, and it would attempt to prevent Emile from being corrupted by society, and in the long run, promote a more civilized society.

According to Rousseau, through the help of a mentor the child would acquire knowledge and an education by himself. Thus in terms of Emile, he states the importance of the child's own ability to exercise self control in the learning process-- "...that he see with his eyes, that he feel

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1 Medhi Nakosteen, *The History and Philosophy of Education*, (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1965, p. 303).

2 Gutek, p. 144.

with his heart, that no authority govern him beyond that of his own reason."[3] However, education in Rousseau's system did allow the teacher fairly firm control over the situation. Not only was there specific tasks to be introduced at each of Rousseau's five stages of development (infancy, childhood, boyhood, adolescence and youth), but he even acknowledged some degree of individual variability. He asserted that "'each mind...has a form of its own in accordance with it must be directed; and for the success of the teachers' efforts it is important that it should be directed in accordance with this form and no other.'"[4]

For Rousseau, education begins at birth. Indeed, he stipulates that the unconscious attainment of knowledge exceeds that which is learned through conscious effort. Further, he urges the educator not to manipulate the education of the young too extensively, since "childhood has its own way of seeing, thinking and feeling: nothing is more foolish than to try and substitute our ways...."[5] Imagination is an important device in learning, as is the child's own experience. Within reason, both should be allowed to accompany the education of a child under the watchful eye of the mentor. As well, Rousseau places a significance on freedom, and recommends against authoritarian direction or utilizing discipline. According to the author, the child will learn he or she is weak while the teacher is strong, and he insists that the teacher should "give him no orders at all, absolutely none."[6] Moreover, "...freedom, not power, is the greatest good," accordingly punishment should only result as a

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3 Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, Alan Bloom (ed and trans), (New York: Basic Books, iv, p. 255)

4 William Boyd, *The Educational Theory of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, (New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1963, p. 254).

5 Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1943, ii, p. 54).

6 Rousseau, (J.M. Dent and Sons ii p. 55).

natural consequence of the child's action.[7] Yet, punishment is not physical in Rousseau conceptualization, but more appropriately, a moral dilemma. For example, if an instructor is lied to by the student, the teacher may not believe the student the next time he or she responds.

As the child ages, Rousseau advocates loosening the reins of control. For instance, during the stage of boyhood, the child's new energies are skillfully redirected toward acceptable ends. At this age, he stipulates the importance of teaching about the natural environment and the attempt is made to move from learning directed at the senses toward learning of ideas. Of this latter aspect he recommends that there should be a gradual progression, as he advises the instructor to "let the senses be the only guide for the first workings of reason."[8] Aspects such as geography and science should be introduced, along with other materials upon the theme of the natural environment (Rousseau suggests allowing the child to read *Robinson Crusoe*, since it represents an account of man living in nature's elements). As Rousseau maintains:

> Teach your scholar to observe the phenomena of nature; you will soon rouse his curiosity, but if you would it grow, do not be in too great a hurry to satisfy this curiosity.[9]

Additionally, manual labour can begin at this stage, however, this should not be treated too seriously at first. The author contends that the particular trade makes no difference, rather the importance is on learning the diligence of a workman, his skill with tools and on gaining some practical experience.

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7 Rousseau, (J.M. Dent and Sons, ii p. 48).
8 Rousseau, (J.M. Dent and Sons, ii p. 131).
9 Rousseau, (J.M. Dent and Sons, ii p. 131).

Likewise, during the period of adolescence, the mentor discusses issues on a mature level with a student much like conversation characteristically witnessed between friends. These issues may be in regard to sex or love for instance, since this is typical of those at his age. Also, during adolescence the student is imbued with strong passion and emotions and self-love. Again Rousseau advises to allow these feelings to flow, and to "...prolong the period of their development, so that they may have time to find their proper place as they arise. Then they are controlled by nature herself, not by man...."[10] The adolescent's innocence will be preserved since he is surrounded by people he loves. Also, during this stage Emile is exposed to the poverty of others, museums and theaters, as well as books and foreign languages. As he becomes cognizant of the wider world, he develops understanding and aesthetic appreciation.

Ultimately the child becomes a man. And between the ages of eighteen and twenty he meets his future wife and becomes more involved with his culture's customs and society. Rousseau has therefore allowed the child natural freedom under the protective arm of his mentor. And through the process of his educational style, the individual may now reshape society and societal institutions from their apparent corruptness to a goodness based on nature.

Therefore, Rousseau's educational philosophy was distinctly grounded in the Enlightenment. He emphasized rationalism in an attempt to discover natural laws. Yet the demarcation lines are somewhat blurry between naturalism and idealism in educational theory, since it can be seen that the work of Rousseau also considered liberation

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10 Rousseau, (J.M. Dent and Sons, iv p. 180).

of the child from society, as well as some consideration of emotions and feelings.

2). NINETEENTH-CENTURY NATURALISM

Equally problematic, is the thought and work of a student of Rousseau's philosophy, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. Not only did Pestalozzi accept Rousseau's notion of the corruptibility of society and thus his emphasis on stressing the purity of nature, but he was also critical of the method of instruction within the current schools of his time. Additionally, he believed in a mechanistic view of nature, which exhibited laws of regularity that were discernible through study. Ultimately, after learning the pattern of these laws, a natural society could be constructed based on utilizing a form of education consistent with them. However, because of this latter emphasis, Pestalozzi's work rightly belongs more to the naturalistic period than the idealistic.

Born and educated in Zurich Switzerland, Pestalozzi was greatly influenced by his mother. Although Pestalozzi wrote many works in the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, his two most famous were *Leonard and Gertrude*, written in 1781, and *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* in 1802. It is these two works which best describe his theory of education. The content was similar to some extent with Pestalozzi's own childhood. Like his own mother, Gertrude represents a caring individual that is responsible for her children's education--both academically and practically. Moreover, she provides a secure atmosphere in which her children can express their natural development as individuals. While Pestalozzi did believe in formal schooling, he felt that the school would simply continue the form of

education as practiced in the home. To him the home was much more important. (It is interesting to note that in his own life, Pestalozzi felt insecure well into life, and blamed this on his isolated home life early on).

Pestalozzi has several specific criticisms of the current educational practice of the time. According to him, education was not in harmony with the child's senses, and was overly reliant on the abstract, on verbal interaction, and on textbooks. The result was that it broke down the unity of instruction by providing only isolated pieces of information, rote learning rather than integrated understanding occurred, and there was a separation of knowledge from its applied application.

In response, Pestalozzi formulated his own methodology in terms of curriculum. Like Rousseau, this encompassed permissiveness as well as a climate of mutual affection between the student and the instructor. His system also emphasized the natural response of children rather than the use of authoritarianism and directives. Under this natural setting it assumed that each student was capable of normal multifaceted growth, and the primary objective would be to appeal to the child's senses. In Pestalozzi's words,

> the primary law of this continuity is this: the first instruction of the child should never be the business of the head or of the reason; it should always be the business of the senses, of the heart, of the mother.[11]

As with Rousseau, Pestalozzi's process of education could not be rushed or necessarily broken down into specific skill learning in a set period of time. It would instead, necessitate a prolonged education which worked in conjunction with the family role. As the author asserts,

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11 Flint Anderson (ed), *Pestalozzi*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931, p. 95).

> the second law...is this: human education goes on slowly from exercise of the senses to exercise of the judgment. It is for a long time the business of the heart, before it is the business of the reason. It is for a long time the business of the woman before it begins to be the business of the man.[12]

At the heart of the curriculum is what Pestalozzi refers to as his "art of Instruction," or methodology of education. The art of instruction requires the identification of aspects within the child to be developed, as well as the specific mechanisms which will assist this learning. For Pestalozzi, these areas would entail the physical, intellectual and moral, and he would enlist the aid of particular exercises, materials and experiences for this purpose. Notably, all three of these areas were to be taught in conjunction.

Physical education occupied a good deal of the school day, and with it, the aim was "...to develop strength and control of the limbs through exercises, and in addition, grace through rhythmic movement."[13] Moreover, Pestalozzi stressed his belief that exercise could be made appropriate for everyone, regardless of their weight, strength or age. Additionally, moral education originated from one's mother accompanied by her love and sense of security and instruction in regard to God which she provided. Pestalozzi envisioned that this original feeling experienced by the young would continue onward throughout one's life and would encourage the development of important aspects such as self-control, positive values and self-respect. Finally, in accordance with his theory, Pestalozzi felt that intellectual development occurred in stages and as a

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12 Flint Anderson, p. 95.

13 S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boultwood, *A Short History of Educational Ideas*, (London: University Tutorial Press, p. 338).

product of nature rather than being coerced. He uses the term *anschauung* to connote one's sense impressions of the world. The educator would thus be expected to provide a congenial environment for the child, such as to enable the child's senses to interact favorably with the world. Through this process, the child's intellectual ability moves from one of experience and generalization to that of complex reasoning abilities. Yet, the instructor must be careful to ensure the child is learning the tasks of each stage perfectly and completely by allowing the student the opportunity to practice the newly formed knowledge. Lessons, according to Pestalozzi, will involve the observation of some new criteria, identification of it through naming objects or labeling its associative elements, and a generalized statement or definition regarding the aspect or aspects related to the object or idea. The educational experience unfolds, therefore, through the use of image formation, language usage, and the development of mental skills. Furthermore, in order to maintain unity and continuity in his learning scheme, Pestalozzi rests his teaching model on sound, form and number. In terms of this feature Curtis and Boultwood make the following observation:

> He postulates that the natural tendency of the mind, when presented with a confused mass of objects, is to sort them out into separate objects and to group them into categories--that is, to number them; the mind also notices the shape of the objects and seeks to apply to them some name already in the mind through previous experience.[14]

Like Rousseau's educational prescription, Pestalozzi's work stresses naturalistic education to protect children from society's corrupt

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14 Curtis and Boultwood, p. 343.

nature, and as a method to help reform society. Similarly, he believed in taking notice of childhood dispositions in order to harness the child's physical, moral and intellectual aspects. Children would be taught appropriately at each stage when they were ready developmentally. This hierarchical model, whereby learning takes place in stages from simple to complex, was in agreement with the Enlightenment ideals of working within the natural order of nature. As Pestalozzi states, a child's learning should be "proportioned to his strength, getting more complicated and difficult in the same degree as his powers of attention, of judgment and thought increase."[15] Unlike Rousseau, he believed strongly in religion and in the power of the emotions. Like the utopian socialists, his idea of home-based education emphasized a combination of vocational (agricultural) training as well as more academic pursuits. He displayed a special affinity with the poor and working class, believing their style of home-based education to be superior to that of wealthy classes, and he was an advocate of universal education.

3). NINETEENTH-CENTURY IDEALISM

Arising first in Germany early in the century, nineteenth-century idealism surpassed in prominence the naturalistic theories of Rousseau and Pestalozzi. The emphasis turned to education for the state, education for cultural identity, education for the freedom of the soul, and education for a new Christian morality. This new movement was spurred on by pressures in the economic and political spheres, as well as a reaction against the absence of God in the Enlightenment mentality. Two

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15 Johann Pestalozzi. *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, translated by L.E. Holland and F.C. Turner, (Syracuse, N.Y.: C.W. Bardeen, 1894, p. 194).

of its most prominent leaders were Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762-1814) and Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852).

As stated above, the year 1806 spelled disaster for the people of the German states as a result of Napoleon's victories at Jena and Auerstädt. The outcome of the proceeding French occupation, cession of territory and the imposed French restrictions led to more than just the humiliation of the Germanic people. Foreshadowing the post-war period during the next century (1919-1939), the emphasis became an exaggerated nationalism, resorting to historic interpretation to achieve cultural homogeneity. Ultimately, this movement would regenerate the Prussian military machine toward one of strength and discipline, affecting in a very direct manner, German unification.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte was one of the philosophical motivators underlying this ideology. With his *Addresses to the German Nation* in 1808, Fichte combined idealism and nationalism into a new liberal philosophy which foresaw as its goal, a new civilization led by a unified German race. Within this work his style is direct and evangelistic in tone, denouncing the French at the same time as assessing the problem and its remedy:

> No nation which has sunk into this state of dependence can raise itself out of it by the means which have usually been adopted hitherto. Since resistance was useless to it when it was still in possession of all its powers, what can such resistance avail now that it has been deprived of the greater part of them? What might previously have availed, namely, if its government had held the reins strongly and firmly, is now no longer applicable, because these reins now only appear to rest in its hands, for this very hand is steered and guided by an alien hand. Such a nation can no longer depend upon itself; and it can rely as little on the conqueror, who would be just as

> thoughtless, just as cowardly and weak as that nation itself once was, if he did not hold fast to the advantages he had won, and exploit them in every way.... If, however, a nation so fallen were to be able to save herself, it would have to be by means of something completely new and never previously employed, namely, by the creation of a totally new order of things. Let us see, therefore, what in the previously existing order of things was the reason why such an order had inevitably to come to an end at some time or other, so that in the opposite of this reason for its downfall we may find the new element which must be introduced into the age, in order that by its means the fallen nation may rise to a new life.[16]

Fichte's idea of education also shared other dissimilarities as well as similarities with those of Rousseau and Pestalozzi. Like Rousseau, Fichte appeals to the thesis of man's pure nature as opposed to the corruption of society. But to Fichte, man is not born in freedom. On the other hand, freedom is something which must be attained through a proper education. As stated by Rousseau and Pestalozzi, Fichte believes society's corruption will be reformed through education and that the training of the young should "be placed under the effective supervision of a wise agency."[17] Yet, although they place importance on the environmental control of students, like other idealists Fichte stresses imagination and creativity much more than Rousseau and Pestalozzi. As he contends, "freedom involves creation, self-activity and originality."[18] To Fichte, through the use of a loose form of guidance by the instructor, students will become adults who see the truth, by neither being coerced into obedience or through the use of rewards and punishments. Like

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16 Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation*, trans. by R.F. Jones and G.H. Turnbull, (London: The Open Court Co., 1922, pp. 9-10).

17 Nakosteen, p. 328.

18 Nakosteen, p. 331.

Pestalozzi, Fichte believed strongly in universal education, the education of the poor, and manual labour in the process of education, however, he was also in agreement with one of Plato's beliefs; he disagreed with home schooling. On the first point he states:

> By means of a new education we want to mould the Germans into a corporate body, which shall be stimulated and animated in all its individual members by the same interest. If by this means we wanted, indeed, to mark off an educated class, which might perhaps be animated by the newly developed motive of moral approval, from an uneducated one, than the latter would desert us and be lost to us; because the motives of hope and fear, by which alone influenced might be exercised over it, would work no longer with us, but against us. So there is nothing left for us but just to apply the new system to every German without exception, so that it is not the education of a single class, but the education of the nation simply as such and without excepting any of its individual members.[19]

Yet the issue of religion as well as the details of instruction is where Fichte differs the most with the likes of Rousseau and Pestalozzi. While all of these theorists were concerned with moral and ethical development, Fichte displays the idealist notion of the value of spirituality and religion to the exclusion of the other two. "In a word, this development will train him to religion; and this religion of the indwelling of our life in God shall indeed prevail and be carefully fostered in the new era."[20] In terms of the specifics of education, Fiche gives his followers very little, other than his stance that intellectual education is of secondary importance to the development of the creative powers of the mind. When pressed to discuss his system he contends that, "...all that

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19 Fichte, p. 15.
20 Fichte, p. 38.

was essential in it had already been put into practice by Pestalozzi."[21] Yet Fichte contributed to a new focus upon which Froebel would capitalize.

However, the likeness between Fichte and Friedrich Froebel was not so much in terms of German nationalism, identity, or the individual's service to the community. Froebel's work contained little of this. Instead, the similarity is their attachment to the Pestalozzian school of thought, as well as their concentration on religion and imagination within the context of education. In both cases Froebel was more extreme. Yet, because of this content Fichte and Froebel quite properly belong to the idealist philosophical position. Additionally, Froebel systematized the practice of education (like Herbart, below), whereas Fichte almost wholly accepted Pestalozzi's scheme as his own method.

For Froebel, religion and the idea of man's divine nature runs conclusively through his work. For example, in his most successful presentation, *The Education of Man* (1826), he asserts,

> in all things there lives and reigns an eternal law....This all-controlling law is necessarily based on an all-pervading, energetic, living, self-consciousness, and hence eternal Unity....This Unity is God. All things have come from the Divine Unity, from God, and have their origin in Divine Unity, in God alone.[22]

Instead of humankind being subject to a mechanistic model of reality outside the powers of supernatural force, Froebel maintains the determinist stance that individuals are only subject to God's order alone. It is thus an individual's duty to reach his or her full potential in life,

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21 Boyd, *The History of Western Education*, p. 335.

22 Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man*, trans. W.N. Hailmann, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1887, pp. 1-2).

which is God's intention for him or her. This is achieved by externalizing the Divine inner force which all beings possess, so it cohabitates with the natural external essence which they also all possess. To Froebel, this pattern of development, from inward to outward and from the potential to self-realization is termed "preformation."

In terms of pedagogy, Froebel goes well beyond Rousseau's, Pestalozzi's or Fichte's ideas. Like these theorists, he agrees in the evolutionary course of development whereby education could help achieve a new society based on the increased ability for individuals to strive toward goodness and a well-developed character. Moreover, he agrees on the educator's role as one of guidance to direct the mental and intellectual growth of the child. However in relation to this aspect, his reins of control are even looser than those perceived by Fichte. Using one of his many biological analogies due to his scientific training he states that,

> we grant space and time to young plants and animals because we know that, in accordance with the laws that live in them, they will develop properly and grow well; young animals and plants are given rest, and arbitrary interference with their growth is avoided, because it is known that the opposite practice would disturb their pure unfolding and sound development....[23]

Within this aspect of growth, Froebel depicts stages. The infant externalizes the internal, the child internalizes the external, and older boys and girls grow much more in touch with the family, and ultimately the community, and their roles within them. Likewise, with each stage there is a corresponding activity. In the home, the infant activities

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23 Froebel, p. 8.

resound around the wants and needs of the physical body; in childhood, activity occurs for its own source of enjoyment; and in older children, activity results in relation to a perceived goal or product. And as this developmental process unfolds, one's connectedness with their inner self gradually moves from a state of incomprehensible meaning, to one of full understanding. Further, as each individual's development takes place, that individual symbolically lives through the spiritual and cultural development within the history of the entire human race. As this unfolds, the child begins to identify with humanity, amalgamating his or her spirituality with that of his or her own natural existence. According to Froebel, all individuals are really a single entity--the human race.

Froebel maintains that within a child's education, emphasis should be placed on *darstellung*, best understood as creative self-expression. According to Froebel, the child will learn by doing, advance at his or her own rate, and seek out interests pertaining to his or her individual personality. The aim of this style of education was to be self-development, activity and social cooperation. To accomplish this, Froebel enlisted the aid of "gifts," "games and play," and "occupations." First, gifts were to be utilized early on in the child's education, and were comprised of solid shaped objects like, for example, spheres or cubes. These objects were gifts from God in order to help the child understand God's divine will. Second, Froebel felt that different forms of games and play structure during early childhood would help children express their interconnectedness with each other and increase their imaginative abilities. Third, occupations were materials whose shape was not fixed and thus changeable. This would include aspects such as sand, mud and paper. These items would help children internalize the world of

adults through their creative manipulation of them. Furthermore, as children became older these activities should turn to more adult forms of interaction; those related to work and the family. In regard to levels of development, Froebel emphasized play throughout. Play unleashed the creative and imaginative worlds, and therefore, allowed children to progress in their development toward the adult world.

Froebel's theories added a great deal to the current educational knowledge of his time period and to educational practice thereafter. His work, however, was initially banned in Prussia in 1851 since it identified too much with liberal thought. As well, there seemed to be confusion over Froebel's identity, mistaking him with his anti-Hohenzolern nephew of the same name. Yet, his work would later become well established. Among his accomplishments was his concentration on early childhood development and education. Indeed, he is credited with the invention of the kindergarten. This term he derived from another of his biological analogies. "Children's garden" was where seeds were planted, and if properly nourished, their inner existence would externalize themselves developing into well-adjusted children. Also, Froebel's insistence on education as activity based, as well as his concept of learning by doing remains common practice. Additionally, he went to great ends to convince his distracters that play should occupy a prominent position in learning. It is through play that children are able to unlock their imaginative forces as well as their own personal areas of interest. By contrast, Froebel's work is heavily symbolic, permeated with mysticism and in places difficult to interpret. And as stated above, he would thus experience some opposition. However, Froebelian ideas would not only diffuse to North America, entering Canada in the 1880s, but would

continue as an influential source of educational thought throughout the twentieth century.

4). NINETEENTH-CENTURY REALISM

Of the realist school of educational thought, the work of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) perhaps offers the best representation. Early in his career at the University of Jena, he was influenced by Fichte's work, and after leaving there visited Pestalozzi and remained significantly indebted to him throughout his life. Herbart wrote *Pestalozzi's Idea of an ABC of Sense-Impression* in 1802, and *The Aesthetic Presentation of the World as the Chief Business of Education* in 1804, in appreciation of Pestalozzi's theories. He became known as a philosopher, educational theorist, an early psychologist and as a professor, and in terms of education, his *The Science of Education* (1806), and *Outlines of Educational Doctrine* (1835) were his most famous representations.

Early on Herbart rejected the idealism of Fichte for that of realist philosophy. Fichte had contended that the essence of an individual's self was its self-realization. As one becomes conscious of self, "...the life open to him is definitely richer in content than that bestowed on any other creature--the life of intelligence, of social relationships, of religion."[24] However, Herbart maintained that the metaphysic and aesthetic could not be conceived of in relation to one another. Thus, "...metaphysics ends with the assumption of Reals existing out of all relations: aesthetics is not concerned with realities, but with relations between realities."[25]

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24 John Angus MacVannel, *The Educational Theories of Herbart and Froebel*, (New York: AMS Press, 1972, p. 75).

25 MacVannel, p. 75.

Perhaps William Boyd sums up the realist nature of Herbart's philosophy with more clarity,

> he is a realist in only the strict philosophical sense of believing that 'reality' lies hidden behind the appearance of things, and that by way of interpreting the facts of experience it is permissible to postulate the existence of simple entities or 'reals,' about which all that can be said is that they exist and that they are manifold.[26]

Additionally, although Herbart disagrees with Rousseau in regard to the latter's conception of nature as man's ideal place, he does accept the previous philosophers' arguments of societal corruptness, and thus, education as the prescriptive panacea. Whereas Pestalozzian theory delved intrinsically into the child, Herbart continued this with a more systematized psychology.

According to Herbart, the soul is simply one of many realities, and there exists a condition of tension or struggle against other realities. As the soul gains consciousness and self-awareness, it forms opinions in regard to the intrusion of other entities, which begin to constitute ideas. However, these ideas are in a state of flux, due to the appearance of new opinions and their coherence with those already formed (called "apperceptive mass"). Therefore, the educator's goal is to give guidance to the individual so that the formation of opinions achieves a consistent and organized body of ideas. Moreover, in this process, moral development is the most salient feature; the teacher wishes to achieve solid character development within the student comprising a high degree of ethical conduct. To be morally educated is to be "cultured," and the

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26 Boyd, *The History of Western Education*, p. 340.

end result of this form of education is an individual who attains "the virtues of freedom, perfection, good will, righteousness, and ethical responsibility."[27]

Like Pestalozzi and Froebel, Herbart agrees that the instruction of students should proceed from the simple to the complex, acquiring first the knowledge of familiarity to that of the more unknown. But Herbart added more systematized steps of instruction than Pestalozzi and Froebel had envisioned. According to Herbart, the teacher must be careful to provide information which is relevant or salient to a child, he or she must use a method by which the acquired knowledge will be retained, and the teacher must appeal to the interests of the child. Further, he developed four steps which should be included within the majority of the teachers' lessons. He labeled these clearness, association, system and method (Note, Herbart's followers later changed these to five steps: preparation, presentation, comparison, generalization and application, a modification the author never envisioned.). Within this sequence of steps, clearness implies the student can understand and appreciate the issues; through association the ideas can relate to ideas contained within their apperceptive body of information; through the process of understanding, the students can systematize the new knowledge; and when they have to apply or make additions to the new knowledge, they have achieved method. Also, the two main branches of knowledge to be dealt with in Herbart's curriculum were the humanities, particularly history and languages, as well as the natural sciences and mathematics. Yet, he was much more concerned with a study of the humanities in

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27 Gutek, p. 322.

terms of his belief that cultivation of character required a social relatedness with human endeavors and their past.

Thus, Herbart made some of the first intrusions into the human psyche in terms of learning. This no doubt, paved the way for the psychological movement later in the century. He also comprehended a coherent theory related to the acquisition of knowledge, as well as a systematized procedure for instruction and learning. Also, he changed the focus of curriculum, allowing the humanities a prominent role. Conversely, his educational philosophy encouraged greater teacher authority and greater passivity amongst learners--contrary to the beliefs of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Fichte and Froebel. As well, courses of study would become more limited. Nevertheless, the Herbartian influence would remain strong and would penetrate the Canadian educational scene in the 1860s.

5). ECONOMIC THEORIES

A). Utilitarianism

Although the utilitarian school of thought in regard to education is perhaps most associated with John Stuart Mill, both Jeremy Bentham and James Mill are important in terms of the contributions to this philosophy. Notably, it can be stated that while Bentham was the founder of this particular philosophy, James Mill made added valuable contributions to it, and John Stuart Mill not only modified the theory, but made criticisms and revisions of his predecessors' work. The utilitarian school is considered to encompass laissez-faire, liberal theory, and its composition is appreciably different from the philosophies of

Owenist or Marxist socialism and the evolutionary pattern of thought characteristic of Spencer and Huxley.

Jeremy Bentham, as noted above, sets out his theory of utilitarianism in his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Within this work, he describes all humankind's actions as subject to pain and pleasure, and all behavior whether a product of right or wrong, attributed to the law of cause and effect. Thus, Bentham's argument is determinist in that he assumes that individuals seek out pleasure while attempting to avoid pain. Moreover, to Bentham, this outlook implied that behavior could be measured, and that therefore, it also could be sanctioned by employing a threat of punishment which would seriously outweigh any pleasure associated with committing a crime or engaging in any inappropriate behavior. Therefore, when it came to the question of schooling, it was understandable that his proposed institution, the Chrestomathic School, represented a similar pattern to the design of his model prison--the Panopticon.

In *Chrestomathia*, originally published between 1815-1817, Bentham gives a detailed plan for this ideal school. However, from the start, he makes it clear that the Chrestomathic School is simply an experiment based on his theory:

> From the determination to employ the requisite mental labour, in addition to the requisite pecuniary means, in an endeavor to apply the newly invented system of instruction, to the ulterior branches of useful learning, followed the necessity of framing a scheme of instruction for the school, in which it was proposed that the experiment should be made.[28]

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28 Jeremy Bentham, *Chrestomathia*, M.J. Smith and W.H. Burston (eds), (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1983, p. 9).

But Bentham deviated somewhat from his original plan, and resigned to modeling his school more in accordance with the Bell and Lancaster monitorial schools which had experienced a reported success in student achievement. Yet however, he would hope to extend rather than replicate their work.

The initial section of *Chrestomathia* sets out the advantages to intellectual learning at his proposed school. Here Bentham lists several items, from the value of learning useful and practical knowledge at an early age to strength of mind and proper habits, from the ability to choose proper friends to gaining an appropriate education at an affordable price. He views adequate learning as utilizing experience, observation and experiment, and places value on both arts and sciences within his curriculum. In terms of the subjects contained within his curriculum he maintains that as far as they provide pleasure in relation to pain, they are of use, and goes on to suggest that possession of the "multitude and extent of the branches of useful skill and knowledge...is promised by this system."[29] However, Bentham has drawn out a very specific course of study in relation to the students' ages and stage of education. He lists six main branches of study--Gymnastic Exercises, Fine Arts, Applications of Mechanics and Chemistry, Belles Lettres, Moral Arts and Sciences, and All-Directing Art and Science--and within each has allocated specific content to be taught within his five different levels of education. Moreover, he assumes an elementary level of knowledge on the part of students in regard to the areas of reading, writing and arithmetic before the first of the five levels of education is attempted. Further, his plan for the Chrestomathic School was rigid in

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29 Bentham, *Chrestomathia*, p. 25.

form and structure, and thus reflected Bentham's own personality. Headmasters were comparable to prison guards and students were assigned to classes based on their success rate in others. And although the Chrestomathic School never materialized, Bentham's work offers ample suggestion as to his interpretation of a utilitarian education. While his plans were intended for the children of the middle class who would be of secondary school age, Bentham also displayed an interest in schools for the poor, as well as schools for younger children. Indeed, after the failure of his school plan, he invested his money in one of Robert Owen's projects geared toward the education of infant children.

James Mill was Bentham's avid follower and supporter. Initially, however, Mill lacked resources due to his departure from a journalist career to write his *History of British India*, as well as due to his large family, thus he relied on Bentham's charity in the form of providing a residence at a lower than average rate. But he would be hired on by the East India Office in 1819, and therefore his fortunes would improve. In terms of Mill's additions to the utilitarian philosophy, his *Schools For All, In Preference To Schools For Churchmen Only* (1812), the article "Education," written for the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1815), *Analysis of the Human Mind* (1828), and *Fragment On Mackintosh* (1835), represent his major ideas.

According to Mill, the aim of education should not be just in terms of individual happiness, but the happiness of others as well. He summed up this idea in his article "Education," with the opening words "the end of Education is to render the individual, as much as possible, an

instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to other beings."[30] Hence, he takes utilitarian philosophy out of the realm of strictly individualistic concern. He asserts that this idea of the general happiness rests on supporting the virtues of temperance, justice and generosity, and that children should be taught early on that their happiness is related to that of others and that positive opinions of others result from generosity shown the individual.

Furthermore, education to Mill is a much wider concept that just intellectual learning. Elaborating upon this idea he testifies that education is "everything, therefore, which operates from the first germ of existence, to the final extinction of life...."[31] Mill attributes educational value as emanating from the family, school and the political and social organization which affects one's life. Further, each of these aspects pertains directly to domestic, technical and social education, respectively. Yet as Curtis and Boultwood suggest, intellectual education was still primary among Mill's concerns. For example, they paraphrase Mill's idea that "...physical education is important in so far as the body exercises a beneficial or harmful influence upon the intelligence."[32]

Most importantly, however, was Mill's contribution of a psychology of association to current utilitarian thought. This principle holds that one item is associated with another, and that a simple thought regarding an item encompasses a vast array of sense-related experience pertaining to that item. Coupled with the main utilitarian principle as envisioned

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30 James Mill, *James Mill On Education*, W.H. Burston (ed), (Cambridge: University Press, 1969, p. 41).

31 James Mill, p. 41.

32 Curtis and Boultwood, p. 408.

by Bentham, this concept goes a step further in the utilitarian ideal of education.

> If we associate two things sufficiently often, as for example by daily habit, the association will be a firm one. But it will also be firm if there is a pleasurable result. But pleasure is the end or object and the intermediate stages or means may be good or bad. It is the business of education to ensure that those means are beneficent and good rather than harmful. Thus all men may desire wealth which brings pleasure, but it may be gained by fair or foul means--education should ensure that it is always associated with the 'acquisition of rare and useful qualities...and steady industry.'[33]

The educational philosophy of John Stuart Mill emphasizes a fully developed thesis on utilitarian thought. Not only does he incorporate aspects within it derived from Bentham's and his father's ideology, he further expands on their ideas. Yet, on other aspects, he disagrees with them wholeheartedly. The sources of his comments in regard to educational theory are not implicit to any particular one of his works, but rather a wide array of them.[34]

From his early training by his father, John Stuart Mill was able to criticize certain aspects of James Mill's method and change the concept of utilitarian theory. First, although he held great respect for his father, he believed his method of training him was inappropriate. Even though James dedicated much of his time to his son's education (inevitably postponing his *History of British India* to that of a nine-year project), and

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33 W.H. Burston (ed), "Introduction," in *James Mill On Education*, pp. 15-16.

34 See, for example, *On Liberty*, Elizabeth Rapaport (ed), (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., 1978); *A System of Logic* (8th ed), (New York: Harper Brothers, 1874); *Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Representative Government*, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1950); "Inaugural Address Delivered to the University of St. Andrews," in *Dissertations and Discussions*, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1874); and *Autobiography*, Jack Stillinger (ed), (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1969).

indeed had imparted a complete university education to J.S. Mill by his early teens, this education was deplete in a few major respects. According to J.S. Mill, what was imparted was "the highest order of intellectual education," making the case that education should consist of much more than this.[35] Additionally, he stipulates that those years were not only absent of companions his age, but also physical exercise and practical aspects that "...boys learn from being turned out to shift for themselves...."[36]

Second, he also reacts against Bentham's and his father's insistence on their idea of a practical education. That is, one which predominantly focused on courses they thought would lead an individual to be successful in the world of work. Although Bentham and James Mill were more liberal in terms of their proposed curriculum than the evolutionists, J.S. Mill still felt their ideas to be too specifically focused. His remedy would be to suggest that the curriculum of instruction should be much wider in scope than one containing intellectual and practical knowledge learning. While J.S. Mill discusses university education somewhat more than school education, he nonetheless feels that there should be an equal balance between arts and science education. On this point, he specifies a wide range of topics from geography to history and literature, to a complimentary selection of sciences. Religion as well as moral and aesthetic components would also be taught, but for Mill, religion should not focus on teaching dogma. In regard to university training, it should be again general in content but heavily imbued with philosophy. The most dangerous educative practice

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35 J.S. Mill, *Autobiography*, p. 5.
36 J.S. Mill, *Autobiography*, pp. 22.

to Mill, was schooling which was highly specialized at the expense of generalized knowledge. He continually emphasized the fact that a general education with a concentration in a particular field would enable the individual to understand a great deal more about the world and themselves, and that people were humans first before they were lawyers, doctors or engineers. Furthermore, J.S. Mill envisions what he terms a "liberal education." In regard to this idea he not only implies that a wide range of knowledge should be offered the student, but that it will aid the students in their progression towards truth; maturity of moral judgment; and personal growth, both individually and as a member of society.

Third, In terms of teaching method, J.S. Mill did not disagree with Bentham's and his father's ideas, but he however, elaborated more upon them. To Mill, knowledge was the state of believing that something was true. Accordingly, three aspects verify knowledge--observation, explanation of empirical laws, and the law of causation. Thus, if these three elements were able to be accomplished with respect to any phenomenon, truth could be assumed. Therefore, teaching methods involving rote and the accumulation of "bits" of knowledge in particular subjects were useless; methods would need to be more scientific. At the same time, however, Mill asserts that "...learning comes from within, and that teaching consists of whatever assists learning."[37] Thus, not only is student experience important, but also the satisfaction of the utilitarian ideal--to promote the greatest good. Finally, Mill insists that a teacher should teach about an aspect in a general way first, and then about its rules second, as well as presenting all views about a particular issue

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37 Kingsley Price, *Education and Philosophical Thought* (2nd ed), (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967, p. 510).

unbiasedly, rather than just from one perspective. "This procedure will prevent a true doctrine from becoming life-less dogma; and, by stimulating thought, will enable correction of false views."[38]

Fourth, J.S. Mill's psychology also differed to a great extent from that of his father's. While his is likewise, an associative psychology, he is much more explicit about its composition. To J.S. Mill there are five laws involved in mental association.[39] First, an initial sense impression in the mind may cause the occurrence of a second sense impression of less intensity. Second, a sense impression or idea may stimulate an idea of similar composition. Third, a sense impression or idea which frequently occurs with a group of others in our experience, either at the same time or in immediate succession, will tend to elicit the other impressions or ideas. Fourth, if a group of sense impressions or ideas appear, and one amongst these is more intense, the group of impressions or ideas may not occur regularly in order to elicit relationships between these ideas. Fifth, if two sense impressions or ideas always appear together, and neither separately from the other, the facts which they represent are also inseparable. Moreover, J.S. Mill discussed sensations and instincts, consciousness, and emotions. To him sensations and instincts are not due to association, but rather are states of the body which encompass the materials for the formation of mind. Consciousness, occurs through the association of particular mental states which are produced by sensation. It is thus related to developing what he calls "acquired desire." Emotions are also caused by association, but these originate by the pairing of pleasure and pain with specific ideas.

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38 Price, p. 511.

39 For a more thorough consideration of this topic see, Kingsley Price, *Education and Philosophical Thought* (2nd ed), (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967).

When these new concepts are coupled with J.S. Mill's alterations in regard to the utilitarian rule, the philosophy of utilitarianism and education is appreciably different. In *Utilitarianism*, Mill restates the Bentham ideal: "...Utility, or the Greatest Happiness Principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the opposite of happiness."[40] Yet, he goes on to state that some types of pleasures are more preferred than others, and that an individual's moral obligation to choose is thus subjected to which of these they desire the most. Hence, again Mill has stated the importance of consciousness. Therefore, in terms of his philosophy of education, the greatest good concept assumes that schools should produce individuals of good character and abilities such that society approximates, as close as possible, an ideal state. Since the individuality of citizens is of prime importance and they possess the element of choice, freedom is part of this ideal. Moreover, to Mill the discovery of truth is a natural outcome of his utilitarian principle. By knowing truth as the result of the proper educative function, people will be encouraged to improve society for the betterment and welfare of all--the mental, moral and physical well-being of humankind.

Finally, Mill did not exclude the state from intervening in the education of students if this was warranted by the conditions. However, he did adhere, by and large, to a philosophy of individualism and non-intervention. For example, he asserts that "'the great majority of things are worse done by the intervention of government than the individuals most interested in the matter would do them or cause them to be done if

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40 J.S. Mill, *Utilitarianism*, p.6.

left to themselves.'"[41] He believed that education by the state would reduce individual differences so that individuals would become a unity of non-thinking entities. This would not prepare them adequately enough to propel the nation to excellence. However, if parents were not interested in educating the young, or they were unable to due to their economic circumstances, the state was thus obligated to intervene.

> It still remains unrecognized that to bring a child into existence without a fair prospect of being able, not only to provide food for its body, but instruction and training for its mind is a moral crime, both against the unfortunate offspring and against society; and that if the parent does not fulfill this obligation, the State ought to see it fulfilled at the charge, as far as possible, of the parent.[42]

B). Socialist Education

Robert Owen is perhaps the most prominent figure within the nineteenth century who postulated educational theory from a socialist point of view. Appalled by the harsh effects of the Industrial Revolution upon the poor and the working class in Britain, Owen seized the opportunity to turn his philanthropic tendency to that of societal improvement through the agency of education first at New Lanark, Scotland and later at the communal town of New Harmony, Indiana. His effort represented a sincere and compassionate attempt to rid society of the evils of the factory system as well as general vice that existed by altering the methods through which individuals had been taught to think and relate to one another. To Owen, like several other previously considered theorists, human nature was viewed in a positive manner,

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41 F.W. Garforth, *Educative Democracy: John Stuart Mill On Education In Society*, (Oxford: University Press, 1980, p. 20).

42 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 104.

and it was therefore the environment which prompted constructive change. Thus, he was hopeful that with the proper formula, society could be elevated to an ideal state.

At first glance Owen's theory does resemble that of the utilitarians to some extent. For example, in his "New View of Society," he stipulates that human beings have an innate preference for happiness. As he asserts, "...man is born with a desire to obtain happiness, which desire is the primary cause of all his actions, continues through life, and in popular language, is called self-interest."[43] Moreover, like the belief of the utilitarians, he maintains that it is in the individual's best interest to promote the general happiness of all humankind.

> For that Power which governs and pervades the universe has evidently so formed man, that he must progressively pass from a state of ignorance to intelligence, the limits of which it is not for man himself to define; and in that progress to discover, that his individual happiness can be increased and extended only in proportion as he actively endeavors to increase and extend the happiness of all around him.[44]

But alternatively, Owen's theory differs a great deal from the utilitarians. Most notable, while Bentham, James Mill and J.S. Mill did attempt to make the capitalist system somewhat more palatable for all classes in society, and were in favor of limited regulations for the protection of individual rights, they nevertheless supported and promoted the capitalist industrial system. Although Owen is not totally opposed to capitalism (he obviously was an entrepreneur himself), he

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43 Robert Owen, "A New View of Society," in *Robert Owen On Education*, Harold Silver (ed), (Cambridge: University Press, 1969, 117).

44 Owen, "A New View of Society," in *Robert Owen On Education*, p. 73.

does wish to encourage a serious revision to the social order for the benefit of all. Education to the utilitarians is the method through which the betterment of the individual occurs, and allows each to take their place in the social order. Owen, however, is not so concerned with education for the individual's sake, but with education for social reform. He disagrees with the utilitarian's emphasis on an individual's responsibility for his or her own behavior, and their belief that only the likelihood of punishment will deter an individual from evil behavior. By contrast, humans are a product of their environment, and he supports the belief "that preventative measures for the inculcation of approved character traits are essential insomuch as punishment of the individual after he has formed persistent bad habits is useless."[45]

Although the environment plays a prominent role in Owen's educational scheme, he also attributes certain characteristics of individuals to nature. For instance, he supports the belief that the individual's mind, their "animal propensities," as well as their desire for happiness are aspects formed within the womb. While individuals cannot control these inborn elements, they are nonetheless variable in character due to their own particular interests, desires, and abilities. However, of the totality of human tendencies, these few are the only ones determined at birth. Thus, the remainder are created by the individual's interaction with the environment.

Furthermore, since Owen's theory does not delve too deeply within the workings of the human mind, for him learning, knowledge and educational development are all a product of modeling behavior.

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45 Karen Caplan Altfest, *Robert Owen As Educator*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977, p. 41).

> ...Human nature, save the minute differences which are ever found in all the compounds of the creation, is one and the same in all; it is without exception, universally plastic, and, by judicious training, the infants of any one class in the world may be readily formed into men of any other class; even to believe and declare that conduct to be right and virtuous, and to die in its defence, which their parents had been taught to believe and say was wrong and vicious, and to oppose which, those parents would also have willingly sacrificed their lives.[46]

Yet, unlike the Pestalozzian influence, he is skeptical of the role of parents in the child's education. It is his belief that many parents in society, including those of the upper and middle classes, have informally instructed their children in the wrong manner. Thus, the children display inaptitude in abilities and skills, and in many cases are prone to vice, crime, and a general unproductiveness to society. Owen's remedy, therefore, not only includes the education of the young, but also the reeducation of adults. According to Owen, "'before man could be wise and happy, his mind must be born again--that is, it must be discharged of all the inconsistent associations which have been formed within it....'"[47] Hence, rather than granting the credibility of the family as an informal educational agency in supplementing the school, Owen adheres to a stance that the community should usurp this duty. Of course, the entire system would be generously supervised by a paternal figure--Owen himself.

Like several of the previously presented educational theorists' views, Owen agrees with the criticisms in regard to the prevailing

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46 Owen, "A New View of Society," p. 132.
47 Altfest, p. 46.

methods of instruction. Again primarily, this was in terms of an extended use of verbalization and the utilization of rote. Instead, and like the others discussed, Owen supports a curriculum which makes use of action rather than words, as well as the consequences which arise from actions. Therefore, group activity was paramount, and class sizes usually consisted of twenty to forty students. Likewise, Owen made extensive use of displays, pictures, animate and inanimate objects, playground facilities and hands on skill learning. As with several other theorists presented earlier, Owen believed in developing learning from the concrete to the abstract, and allowed the natural interest of children to direct their learning. Importantly, Owen differed from previous theorists in that his educational scheme encompassed almost the complete equality of males and females, "with the exception of military drill, which was restricted to boys, and some special classes in homemaking designed for girls."[48]

The courses taught at New Lanark involved reading, writing, arithmetic, natural history, ancient and modern history, geography and religion. However like J.S. Mill, Owen did not believe in teaching doctrinal religion, but rather general facts about a variety of religions. In terms of the authority of teachers, he disagreed strongly with punishment, and instead, insisted on kindness, and like the evolutionists (presented below), he felt that all artificial rewards and punishments should not be utilized in school. Concerted effort was implemented to ensure that children attended school early enough in their lives to avoid excessive instruction in all matters by their parents. While children were

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48 Altfest, p. 71.

sufficiently malleable, parents and those influenced by them would take longer to reeducate.

That the New Lanark School and community remained a success for many years and received many influential visitors, testifies to Owen's abilities. Yet, although he was adamant that his educational prescription, if applied universally, could create a new society based on equality, happiness and the absence of all forms of vice, the available resources and level of interest in society would prevent this from occurring. Indeed, the New Harmony establishment on the banks of the Wabash river in Indiana lasted no more than two years. Even the controlling parties were ripe with indecision, internal wrangling and lack of organization. However, the Owenite system left a successful legacy of the benefits of hope, understanding and the positive effects that are able to result when action is employed in the humane and educational spheres. Owen's influence would be only indirect on the prairies of the Canadian North-West Territories.

C). Marx And Education

Although Karl Marx and Frederick Engels said very little which was directly related to the educational sphere and how this aspect would be changed after a revolution of the proletariat, they do for example, provide an explanation for why education will have to change from that experienced in a capitalist society. It is from these statements that speculation can be made as to the composition of education in the new society.

Within the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels establish their argument with regard to institutional change in society as a product of

historic determinism. They assess each phase of historic change as responsible for changes experienced in the superstructure. As they assert, "what else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes in character in proportion as material production is changed?"[49] They go on to further question the reader:

> Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?[50]

However, within the pattern of historical change the superstructure is a product of change in the substructure. And Marx and Engels make the case that direct change in the institutions and ideas of man may not come immediately, but they are indelibly linked with alterations in the substructure:

> When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps ever pace with the old conditions of existence.[51]

Due to the exploitation existing within the relationships of industrial society, Marx and Engels thus predicted a revolution of the proletariat; a change so extreme and unprecedented in history that all the old patterns of relationships would cease to exist.

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49 Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in *Enlightenment and Social Progress: Education in the Nineteenth Century*, J.J. Chambliss (ed), (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Co., 1971, p. 82).

50 Marx and Engels, in *Enlightenment and Social Progress*, p. 82.

51 Marx and Engels, in *Enlightenment and Social Progress*, p. 82.

> The Communist revolution is the most radical rapture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rapture with traditional ideas.[52]

Thus, the superstructure within the new communist society would reflect the equality and brotherhood that is established within the new substructure.

According to Marx and Engels, education as a societal institution would thus be destined to change:

> And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society by means of schools, etc?[53]

Both writers were extremely critical of the current educational structure that was exercised under the capitalist system, and maintained that due to the action of modern industry, family relationships within the proletariat class were in a despicable state and children were being transformed "into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labor."[54] But under the dictatorship of the proletariat, this system would undoubtedly change. Schools would be utilized to teach the values of the new order; the curriculum would cease to reflect individualistic, nationalistic and capitalistic sentiment; and values such as cooperation, egalitarianism and internationalism would become characteristic of its mission. As stated by Gutek, "in proletarian society, the curriculum could be expected to respond to utilitarian needs," whereby art forms,

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52 Marx and Engels, in *Enlightenment and Social Progress*, p. 83.
53 Marx and Engels, in *Enlightenment and Social Progress*, p. 80.
54 Marx and Engels, in *Enlightenment and Social Progress*, p. 81.

aesthetic education and literature would be imbued with the new proletarian morality.[55]

Education from a communist perspective did not become a reality until the twentieth century, and its values did not directly invade the Canadian west between 1870 and 1905. Perhaps the closest approximation of this system could be found amongst the Doukhobors, Mennonites and Hutterites who emigrated to the west in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to reside within block-settlements on the prairies. Yet, this still did not represent a departure as extreme as the dictatorship of the proletariat.

6). EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES

Although Herbert Spencer was a teacher for a short period of time in his life--an occupation in which he experienced little success, his large body of academic works also contain speculation on the "proper" form of education which society should employ. Thus, the most important of his works in terms of educational theory is his *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, a series of essays written throughout the 1850s and published in 1861. Within this work, he assertively expounds upon the appropriateness of his evolutionary theory of education, the resulting curriculum which should be employed, and the virtues of its application for the betterment of society.

While evolutionary theories of education certainly represent a departure from the previously presented theories, there are also several similarities with what Spencer prescribes and thoughts of the educational theorists reviewed above. First, like Rousseau, Pestalozzi

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55 Gutek, p. 251.

and Froebel, Spencer agrees in the developmental stages of education whereby children progress by mastering the fundamentals at each level. Second, in accordance with these theorists he agrees these stages recapitulate the developmental stages in the history of humankind. Third, he also restates these theorists' as well as Owen's beliefs in naturalness, ideas of freedom, and the minimal necessity of control needed by authority figures. He maintains, for example, that a society is simply a product of the quality of its citizens. In Spencer's words, "...the goodness of society, ultimately depends on the nature of its citizens; and since the nature of its citizens is more modifiable by early training than by anything else; we must conclude that the welfare of the family underlies the welfare of society."[56] He believed that freedom leads to responsible citizenship since it fosters self-initiative, independence of thought, and ethical character, and in regard to control, Spencer feels that during infancy absolutism may be necessary, making the case of a three-year old playing with a razor and the possibility of self-inflicted harm. Yet, when children are older, he believes they will learn from the natural consequences of their actions. "Unlike artificial, natural punishment does not endanger resentment nor create a feeling of injustice in the child's mind. He comes to regard it as the working out of the law of cause and effect."[57] Fourth, Spencer believes in an education which flows from the simple to the complex, and from the subjective to the objective, as agreed to by Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart and Owen. Fifth and especially in regard to Pestalozzi's, Froebel's and Owen's work, he believes education should capitalize on the child's individual

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56 Herbert Spencer, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1910, p. 15).

57 Curtis and Boultwood, p. 423.

interests, and that the study of objects and the use of physical activities should be prominent within the educational environment. Sixth, Spencer much like Pestalozzi, Owen, Mill and Herbart, favors a more practical application of education, making it directly relative to the work environment. Indeed, Spencer displays this importance of the utilitarian characteristic by choosing as his second point amongst five activities which he deems constitute human life, the aspect of "indirect self-preservation," or acquiring the means of a living. As he asserts,

> such then, we repeat, is something like the natural order of subordination--That education which prepares for direct self-preservation; that which prepares for indirect self-preservation; that which prepares for parenthood; that which prepares for citizenship; that which prepares for the miscellaneous refinements of life.[58]

However, Spencer also departs to some extent from the previously mentioned theories of education. First, he disagrees with Rousseau's idea of innate goodness of the child and the Pestalozzian call for a preponderance of love within the parent-child and teacher-child relationships. To Spencer, as with the proponents of behaviorist psychology in the next century, goodness arises due to the beneficial results of good conduct--a type of built in reward and punishment system. Second, unlike the views of the both the idealists and realists, the study of history and imagination has little importance in a child's education; the practical application of learning skills for the workplace is much more relevant. Third, he strongly disagrees with the earlier views that societal problems are somehow related to malfunctions in the

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58 Spencer, *Education*, p. 16.

environment. Like other liberal, laissez-faire advocates, Spencer supported the belief that society would only function properly, if environmental meddling--such as government intervention and regulation--was not encouraged. Therefore, he was extremely suspicious of plans encompassing state educational control. Fourth, while both Marx and Spencer rejected religion as the panacea of the human race, they differed on their interpretation of other issues. Marx like Spencer, believed a new form of society was imminent. However, to Marx, this would be based on making a radical change to the existing evil conditions. Thus, it follows naturally from Marxian thought that intervention in matters of education to equalize the opportunities between the classes would be the wisest course of development. By contrast, Spencer's philosophy was apologetic towards the capitalist class, and challenged individuals to adapt themselves to the natural order--the status quo. According to Spencer, this would have the effect of expanding the capitalist system for the benefit of all. Fifth, Spencer placed importance on the study of the budding science of sociology and on science. Sociology would help individuals understand the natural order which governs their lives, whereas, science would be directly applicable to the enhancement of life within an industrial society. Sixth, as alluded above, Spencer's formula was distinctly based on a social Darwinistic pattern of thought--a justification rather than a prescription for the existing social order.

The Spencerian ideal pertaining to the school curriculum would not be based on its traditional composition. This form, he insisted, was authoritarian by nature; utilized rote learning to the exception of other methods, concentrated too much on the areas of literature, history and

classical languages; and was not in touch with either the present time period or the world of industrial technology. In regard to the contemporary form of education he contends that "if we inquire what is the real motive for giving boys a classical education we find it to be simply conformity to public opinion. Men dress their children's minds as they do their bodies, in the prevailing fashion."[59] Instead, he insisted that education lacked applicable content while "...it is diligent in teaching everything that adds refinement...."[60] Hence, Spencer contributes his formula consisting of five elements (see quotation above, p. 81) in regard to his thoughts on what education should comprise in order to provide for what he terms "complete living." To Spencer, education as was being currently taught, did not satisfy these aspects. In fact, he deemed the majority of it as belonging to "leisure time activities." Thus, his remedy would be to encourage an education suited to the technical and vocational attributes of society; an education with science at its core.

> What knowledge is of the most worth?--Science. This is the verdict on all the counts. For direct self-preservation, or the maintenance of life and health, the all-important knowledge is--Science. For indirect self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of the greatest value is--Science. For the due discharge of parental functions, the proper guidance is to be found only in--Science. For the interpretation of national life, past and present, without which the citizen cannot rightly regulate his conduct, the indispensable key is--Science. Alike for the most perfect production and highest enjoyment of it in all its forms, the needful preparation is still--Science. And for the purposes of discipline--intellectual, moral, religious--the most efficient study is, once more--Science.[61]

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59 Spencer *Education*, p. 3.
60 Spencer, *Education*, p. 62.
61 Spencer, *Education*, p. 85.

To Spencer, as displayed within the initial essay in *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, the physical, biological and social sciences will account for the proper training of attributes essential for society. Importantly, Spencer stresses that all of these five areas of knowledge should be treated in proportion relating to their given value at any particular time. First, in terms of direct self-preservation, he claims that nature educates the best. Spencer asserts that children should be allowed to engage in spontaneous activity which promotes this type of learning. Also, elementary physiology should be taught to elicit an understanding of the function and maintenance of the human body. Second, indirect self-preservation requires knowledge from the areas of math, chemistry, physics, biology and sociology. Since the focus here is on acquiring the abilities to make a living, Spencer feels these sciences will aid in the process, however, only after knowledge has been gained in the areas of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Math allows the individual to cut hedges or understand architecture or construction; chemistry and physics provide for the latest research in printing, smelting, and electricity; biology enables one to gain knowledge about agriculture or the elements of diet; and sociology provides man with the ability to understand the market place and to carry on daily affairs in society.

Third, Spencer believes that the school curriculum provided very little in the way of instruction for proper parenting. He thoroughly criticizes the existing system on this point, appealing to the notion that the correct ability of parenting is not simply passed on from one generation to the next. Like Owen, he contends that "...on the treatment of offspring depend their lives or their deaths, and their moral welfare or ruin; yet not one word of instruction on the treatment of offspring is ever

given to those who will hereafter be parents?"[62] He blames the deaths of thousands as well as the growth of "feeble constitutions" on this lack of training, and though he admits that in "some cases the causes are doubtless inherited...," he believes that in "most cases foolish regulations are the causes."[63] Thus parents are therefore the source of the majority of the pain. Fourth, in regard to education for national life or for the maintenance of political and social institutions, Spencer replaces the contemporary reliance on history with that of "descriptive sociology." Accordingly, he asserts that "such studies, as are now given, offer little to show the student the right principles of political and social action."[64] Instead, history submits only disjointed facts, deplete of useful knowledge (see, for instance, his chapter entitled "Perverted History" in *Social Static*). Descriptive sociology, for example, would provide an explanation for the origin of societies, social class relations and methods of social control, but it must be utilized with other sciences to be interpreted properly.

Last, is what Spencer depicts as leisure activities. Although he felt that within the distant future there would be more leisure time in peoples' lives, for his current time period he believes that leisure pursuits in education should reflect proportionally the same amount of time as they do in society. Again science would be applicable for these activities as well. For example, in art the study of light and natural perception is important, psychological analysis aids one's abilities in regard to music and poetry, as does physiology for sculpture. Yet he states that while

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62 Herbert Spencer, *Education*, p. 40.

63 Spencer, *Education*, p. 42.

64 Kimball, Elsa Peverly, *Sociology and Education: An Analysis of the Theories of Spencer and Ward*, (New York: AMS Press, 1968, p. 102).

"recognizing thus the true position of aesthetics and holding that while the cultivation of them should form a part of education from its commencement, such cultivation should be subsidiary."[65] Thus, he obviously subordinates this fifth aspect to the other four.

However, the feature by which Spencer deviates the most from the work of previous theorists, is his view pertaining to the inheritance of both genetic and environmental characteristics. This presumption is supported by his stance that society should reflect the natural order. According to Spencerian thought, society as well as its institutions did not evolve independently from individuals, nor were they separate entities. Conversely, these aspects were a product of the evolution of individuals' instincts and attributes. Since some individuals survive which Spencer would deem "unfit," the institution of the school would not be effective in ameliorating deficiencies and abilities in character. As Spencer contends:

> If heredity transmission is a law of nature, as every naturalist knows it to be, and as our daily remarks and current proverbs admit it to be; then on the average of the cases, the defects of children mirror the defects of their parents;--on the average of cases we say, because, complicated as the results are by the transmitted traits of remoter ancestors, the correspondence is not special but only general. And if, on the average of cases, this inheritance of defects exists, then the evil passions which parents have to check in their children imply like evil passions in themselves; hidden, it may be, from the public eye; but still there. Evidently, therefore, the general practice of any ideal system of discipline is hopeless: parents are not good enough.[66]

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65 Spencer, *Education*, p. 63.
66 Spencer, *Education*, pp. 170-171.

Thus, in the minds of evolutionists, not only discipline but education itself would not be helpful to particular individuals. They were discardable, and hence lacked value to society. Spencer more poignantly addresses this issue in the following excerpt:

> Is it not that education of whatever kind has for its proximate end to prepare a child for the business of life--to produce a citizen who, at the same time that he is well conducted, is also able to make his way in the world? And does not making his way in the world ...imply a certain fitness for the world as it is now?[67]

T.H. Huxley, another proponent of evolutionary theory, was equally dedicated to the cause of science and education as was Spencer, but somewhat more liberal in his opinion regarding the overall makeup of the school curriculum. In a Speech entitled "A Liberal Education and Where To Find It" delivered to the South London Working Men's College in 1868, he sets out his plan.[68] Within this speech he maintains Spencer's stance on the importance of the natural order. Huxley not only adheres to the belief that "...education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature...," he makes a value judgment in terms of those who choose to follow the natural order versus those who do not. Accordingly he asserts that "those who take honors in Nature's university, who learn the laws which govern men and things, are the real great and successful men in the world."[69]

Although Huxley like Spencer, laments the current state of education, Huxley is not as concerned as is Spencer about the

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67 Spencer, *Education*, p. 171.

68 T.H. Huxley, "A Liberal Education and Where To Find It," in *Man's Place In Nature And Other Anthropological Essays*, (New York: J.A. Hill and Co., 1904).

69 Huxley, "A Liberal Education and Where To Find It," *Man's Place In Nature*, p. 45.

implementation of an educational system based strictly on science. While education from the perspective of science is important since it confers "real knowledge and practical discipline," and is "essential for the successful pursuit of our most important professions," other subjects are of importance as well.[70] Among these Huxley lists the moral and social sciences, geography, literature, languages and history. As Huxley notes, those of these subjects already offered are too devoid of the proper teaching technique and relevance to society to adequately acknowledge them as such. Thus, although he deviates from Spencer's proposed curriculum his remedy is similar; courses and teaching methodology should encompass practical applicability.

In a further speech entitled "Scientific Education" delivered the following year to the Liverpool Philomathic Society, Huxley presents his ideas somewhat more specifically in regard to his ideal teaching method. And while he maintains that all trades require scientific knowledge, his manner is apologetic in regard to the school system. For example, he stipulates that four hours per week will due for scientific study, and that "we ask only for 'a most favored nation' clause in our treaty with the schoolmaster."[71] Aside from this, he supports Spencer's sentiments in terms of teaching students about the world from an early age, the methods of teacher control and authority, the value of self-directed student learning and that knowledge and the advancement of civilization is the sole aim of educational theory. And like Spencer, Huxley's model nonetheless retains the evolutionary ideal of the superiority of some, based on a hierarchical ordering of society:

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70 T.H. Huxley, "Science and Education," in *Man's Place In Nature*, p. 66.

71 Huxley, "Science and Education," *A Man's Place In Nature*, p. 68.

> As industry attains higher stages of its development, as its processes become more complicated and refined, and competition more keen, the sciences are dragged in, one by one, to take their share in the fray; and he who can best avail himself of their help is the man who will come out uppermost in the struggle for existence, which goes on as fiercely beneath the smooth surface of modern society, as among the wild inhabitants of the woods.[72]

CONCLUSION

Therefore, the nineteenth century was characterized by extraordinary change that penetrated the very fabric of society. The century had begun amidst political turmoil on the continent that would soon witness an impending backlash before gradual democratic change would ensue. Economically, capitalism and laissez-faire theory would affect and severely alter the lives of every citizen. And although there would be reaction to this ideology in the form of limited government intervention, humanitarianism, as well as by socialist and Marxist movements, capitalism in one form or another pervaded the whole of European society. Additionally, after an initial period of revised popularity, the influence of the church would be lessened to some extent by the growth of positivist science and the gradual acceptance of Darwinian theory. There had been a tremendous shift within the underlying structures in society, and all its institutions reflected this change.

The educational sphere was no different. Educational theory and schooling simply existed as a microcosm of the larger society. Thus, its changing emphasis was only a product and an answer to macro-societal

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72 Huxley, "Science and Education," *A Man's Place In Nature*, pp. 60-61.

conditions. There was one trend, however, that would continue as a mainstay as these educational theories adapted themselves to the frontier conditions of the Canadian West. This was characterized by a new mentality--a new wisdom--which focused for the first time on the intrinsic worth of the individual. As a result of laissez-faire, capitalist thought, which emphasized individualism and competitive spirit, coupled with social Darwinian philosophy, defending virtuous character in terms of the inheritance of selective traits, some individuals would be singled out as less than superior. And within this milieu the school system would not operate impartially. If students were incapable of competing they would be assigned to a "useful education," that promised them a livelihood on the lower rungs of society. The old weapon was alive and well.

CHAPTER III

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES 1870 TO 1905: POLITICS, SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND NATIVE GROUPS

I. THE NEW TERRITORY

As was evident by clause 146 of the B.N.A. Act (later renamed the Constitution Act), implemented on July 1, 1867, it would only be a matter of time before the Western Territories were added to the Dominion of Canada which was then only composed of the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. As stated by the Act:

> It shall be lawful for the Queen...on Addresses from the Houses of Parliament of, and from the Houses of the Respective Legislatures of the Colonies or Provinces of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia, to admit these Colonies or Provinces, or any of them, into the Union, and on Address from the Houses of Parliament of Canada to admit Rupert's Land and the Northwestern Territory, or either of them, into the Union, on such terms and conditions in each case as are in the Addresses expressed....[1]

A major goal in terms of this acquisition by the Macdonald government would be to strengthen Canada's economy through the added resources and wealth which earlier westward expeditions had documented. Support for this proposition can be found in the 1867 "Address to Her Majesty the Queen from the Senate and House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada." Within this document the government's goal of

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1 "British North America Act, 1867," section 146, in *A Consolidation of The Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982*, (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1983).

expansion is expressly stated: "that it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire...."[2] Moreover, it cites as possibilities

> "... the colonization of the fertile lands of the Saskatchewan, the Assiniboine, and the Red River districts; the development of the mineral wealth which abounds in the region of the North-west; and the extension of commercial intercourse through the British possessions in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific...."[3]

And of the inhabitants of this area, the government only speaks in terms of those of European origin in its appeal to the Queen for the development of the West:

> That the welfare of a sparse and widely scattered population of British subjects of European origin, already inhabiting these remote and unorganized Territories, would be materially enhanced by the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances will permit, to those which exist in the several Provinces of this Dominion.[4]

Thus, the transfer of the territory of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company to the government of Canada would be complete by 1869. The British government initiated the transfer with the Rupert's Land Act of 1868, and the Canadian delegates negotiated the terms of the agreement in London throughout the winter if 1869. For its part, the Hudson's Bay Company would receive £300,000 sterling from the

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2 "Addresses to Her Majesty the Queen from the Senate and the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada," *Canada Journals of the House of Commons, 1867-1868*, vol. I, p. 53.

3 "Addresses to Her Majesty the Queen from the Senate and the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada," vol. I, p. 53.

4 "Addresses to her Majesty the Queen from the Senate and the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada," vol. I, pp. 53-54.

Dominion government, the right to retain land around its 120 forts, one-twentieth of all the surveyed land within the fertile belt for a period fifty years, as well as the right to trade within the territory. The Dominion representatives secured a loan from the British government in order to complete the transfer, and "undertook to respect the rights of the Indians and Half-Breeds in the Territory transferred."[5]

With the transfer negotiations complete, new tensions plagued the area of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. Louis Riel, who had become a strong leader of the Métis in the Red River region, opposed annexation by Canada and refused entry to William McDougall, the newly appointed English-speaking provisional lieutenant-governor of the territory. After bloodshed at Fort Garry, and Thomas Scott's execution for acts of treason toward Riel's Provisional Government, peace between the Métis and the federal government would again be attained for a time. Delegates of the Provisional Government met in Ottawa and negotiated the inclusion of the Province of Manitoba into Confederation. The Manitoba Act of May 12, 1870 set aside 1.4 million acres of land for the Métis, guaranteed subsidies on a per capita basis until the population increased to 400,000, and gave the federal government full control of the new province as specified under the B.N.A. Act and additionally, it retained control of the provinces resources. Thus, the North-West Territories officially came under Dominion control on July 15, 1870. However, many Métis who became disillusioned with the government's promises and lack of action, or who feared retribution either moved further west into the Saskatchewan valley, or like Riel, fled to the United

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5 Alexander Begg, *History of the North-West*, Vol. I, (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co., 1894, p. 346).

States. Yet, Riel would be summoned back for one last fight before the colonization of the West was complete.

Additionally, Minnesota had displayed a heightened interest in annexing the Red River area. By 1858 the population in this area was roughly 170,000 people, and American businessmen were keenly aware of the business interests in Fort Garry. To the settlements on the Red River, St. Paul became a centre of trade, and Canadian currency poured over the 49th parallel in the thousands. "American eyes had looked upon Canada's prairies and official American hands, eager in anticipation, were not far behind."[6] American whiskey traders already frequented the provinces from the 1860's onward from their posts on the Missouri River, supplying forts such as Whoop-up, Stand-off and Slide-out, which were notorious for their liquor trade. The Macdonald government was uneasy in regard to reports of the American cavalry crossing the border in pursuit of various Indian tribes. For example in 1870, 173 unsuspecting Peigan Indians were killed by American troops, just south of the Canadian border. Many American tribes would use Canada as a safe haven as did the Sioux leaders Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull at a later point. Further, as the buffalo grew scarce on the Canadian prairie, and poverty and disease ensued amongst the native groups, inter-tribal warfare increased. One of the worst examples of this was the Cree and Assiniboine attack on a Blood camp in 1870 in the river valley of modern day Lethbridge. Aided by the Peigans, the Bloods killed between two and three hundred Cree, and reportedly only suffered forty casualties.

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6 James G. MacGregor, *A History of Alberta*, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972, p. 81).

Importantly, while the North-West Territories now stood as a separate entity from the province of Manitoba in the east, and after 1871, the province of British Colombia in the west, the Macdonald government lacked a coherent organizational and developmental plan for the new Territory. It was clear, however, that through the acquisition of the Territories, Macdonald was seeking to benefit Eastern Canada while bolstering Conservative political fortunes. "He was not aiming to create a state founded on the principles of justice and liberty, but to open the interior to commercial exploitation for the benefit of the East."[7]

II. POLITICS, BOUNDARIES AND COMPOSITION

The organization of the new territory would follow an evolutionary process of trial and error, rather than a predetermined political structure. In this it was clear that Macdonald had access to appropriate models of planning in regard to organizing new territories if he wished to utilize them. Specifically, there was the example of the territory deemed the Old Northwest positioned west of the Appalachian mountains in the United States. In 1780 a complete constitutional plan for this region was formulated before access to it by settlers was permitted. This involved plans for the creation of states, the appointment of governors, and the development of local constitutions, as well as details pertaining to the election of legislatures and representation in Congress. Yet, Macdonald ignored Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance as the plan was named. Instead, the Prime Minister enlisted the first governor for the region, Adams G. Archibald, who would be responsible for both the province of

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7 Ted Byfield (ed.), *The Great West Before 1900*, (Vol. I) from *Alberta in the 20th Century*, (Edmonton: United Western Communications Ltd., 1991, p. 227).

Manitoba and the North-West Territories from his post at Fort Garry. From the beginning Archibald's task was not only immense, but predictably impossible.

> He was to study and report on 'the state of laws now existing in the Territories,' 'the system of taxation now in force,' the conditions of the roads, 'such lands in the Territories as it may be desirable to open up at once for settlement,' plus 'all subjects connected with the welfare of the Territories,' and 'the state of the Indian tribes now in the Territories.'[8]

Moreover, the lieutenant-governor attempted to organize a council and fight a smallpox epidemic, among other intents. Yet his ordinances were not upheld by the Dominion government, and it would be two full years before Ottawa fulfilled the request to grant a Territorial Council.

By 1872, however, Archibald had had enough and was replaced by the Honourable Alexander Morris, who became the new lieutenant-governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. In contrast to the previous two year's administration, an Act of Government in 1872 provided for the government of the North-West Territories by the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba along with eleven council members who met for the initial meeting on March 8, 1873. An amendment to the Act of Government in 1873 read as follows:

> Subject to the provisions hereinafter made, it shall be lawful for the Governor-in-Council to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the said North-West Territories and Her Majesty's subjects therein, in relation to all matters and subjects in relation to which the Lieutenant-Governor and his Council aforesaid are not then empowered to make laws; and for that purpose either to make new laws or

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8 Byfield, p. 260.

> to extend and apply and declare applicable to the North-West Territories, with such amendments and modifications as may be deemed necessary, any Acts or Acts of the Parliament of Canada, or any parts thereof; and from time to time to amend or repeal any such laws and make others in their stead.... And the Lieutenant-Governor, acting with the advice and consent of his Council, shall have like powers with respect to the subjects and matters in relations to which he is empowered to make laws....[9]

Although laws implemented by the lieutenant-governor would be mailed to the Governor-in-Council in Ottawa after passing and could be subject to disallowment after that point, 1873 marked a definite turning point in regard to the organization and control of the Territories.

Moreover, acting on suggestions and reports by Lieutenant W. F. Butler in 1871 and Colonel Robertson Ross during the following year, an organization of North-West Mounted Police was to be formed and sent to enforce law and order within the Territories. Butler had traveled extensively between Fort Garry and Rocky Mountain House and was concerned with the amount of lawlessness evident among both the whites and Indians with the absence of the Hudson's Bay Company control on the prairies. Yet, to this point in Canadian history, policing had been a matter of provincial responsibility. After 1873, the federal government would thus set a precedent with the formation of the North-West Mounted Police, but was tactful in differentiating the force from the military so as not to stir resentment below the 49th parallel. The presence of the three-hundred-man federal police force within the Canadian North-West Territories would have the dual effect of establishing law and order, while at the same time displaying to the

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9 Alexander Begg, *History of the North-West*, (Vol. II,) pp. 233-234.

Americans that the area was undeniably part of the Dominion of Canada. After their long trek westward paralleling the U.S. border, the North-West Mounted Police constructed Fort MacLeod, named after their assistant commissioner Colonel James MacLeod, and were duly welcomed to the territory by Chief Crowfoot, representing the Blackfeet, Blood, and Peigan Indians.

Further changes in governmental administration of the North-West Territories ensued in 1875, after the Liberal Party came to power headed by Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie. The North-West Territories Act would provide for a separate Lieutenant-Governor for the Territories which was previously included under the administrative auspices of the province of Manitoba, and would reorganize the Territory Council. As stated in the Act, the Council would be composed of five members who would receive remuneration and would be responsible for local and municipal taxation, property and civil rights, the administration of justice, public health and roads and bridges in the Territories. While the Act left the federal government in control of Indian Affairs, the North-West Mounted Police and the right of veto in terms of the Council's ordinances, it did provide for the representatives of local districts to Council based on a minimal population.

> When and so soon as the Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied by such proof as he may require, that any district or portion of the North-West Territories, not exceeding an area of one thousand square miles, contains an population of not less than one thousand inhabitants of adult age, exclusive of aliens or unenfranchised Indians, the Lieutenant-Governor shall, by proclamation, erect such district or portion into an electoral district, by a name and with boundaries to be respectively declared in the proclamation, and such electoral district shall

> thenceforth be entitled to elect a member of the Council or of the Legislative Assembly, as the case may be.[10]

Additionally, the Act of 1875 provided for the establishment of schools under local control.

> When, and as soon as, any system of taxation shall be adopted in any district or portion of the North-West Territories, the Lieutenant-Governor, by or with the consent of the Council or Assembly, as the case may be, shall pass all necessary ordinances in respect to education; but it shall therein be always provided, that a majority of the rate payers of any district or portion of the North-West Territories, or any lesser portion or subdivision thereof, by whatever name the same may be known, may establish such schools therein as they may think fit, and make the necessary assessment and collection of rules therefore....[11]

However, in actual fact, there remained limitations to the Act in regard to permission from the central government. In terms of the establishment of schools, for example, this took a period of six years to be granted after the original request was made, even though the B.N.A. Act had assigned this responsibility to the provinces. The North-West Territories Act of 1875 would remain in effect for the next twelve years, and in the meantime, the centre of administration would move from Fort Garry (Winnipeg) to Fort Peel, to Battleford and finally to Regina in 1882, after the decision was made to construct the railway along a southern route.

A memorandum submitted to government in 1881 by J. S. Dennis, the Deputy Minister of the Interior, suggested further changes to the

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10 Canada, 38 Victoria, "The North-West Territories Act, 1875," in *Statutes of Canada*, vol. I, c. 49, 11.

11 Canada, 38 Victoria, "The North-West Territories Act, 1875," *Statutes of Canada*, vol. I, c. 49, 13.

organizational structure of the North-West Territories. As originally intended in 1876, the construction route of the Canadian Pacific Railway selected by Stanford Fleming would pass through Fort Pelly, paralleling the Elbow of the Saskatchewan River and then continue west through Edmonton to the mountains. However, according to Dennis, the abandonment of Fleming's plan and the construction of the railway west of Winnipeg and south of Fort Ellice and Qu'Appelle towards the mountains suggested new possibilities for the subdivision of the Territory into Provinces. As Dennis states:

> the great objects to be aimed at in devising the most expedient apportionment of the Territories, with a view to self-government in the future are:
>
> 1) Reasonable areas for the different Provinces,
> 2) The equalization of such areas as far as practicable,
> 3) Securing for each Province as nearly as possible an equal share of the great natural resources of the Territories[12]

On May 8, 1882, after Committee agreement with Dennis' recommendation, John J. McGee representing the Committee, submitted a brief to the Minister of the Interior (and Prime Minister again since 1878), Sir John A. Macdonald, for approval. In McGee's short draft he maintains the rationale for division of the districts is for "the convenience of settlers and for postal purposes."[13] Thus, later during the day of May 8, Macdonald approved the bill, and recommended the names of the four

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12 "The Creation of the Provincial District," Memorandum by J. S. Dennis to the Minister of the Interior, October 15, 1881, Public Archives of Canada, *Records of the Department of the Interior*, vol. 264, file 37906.

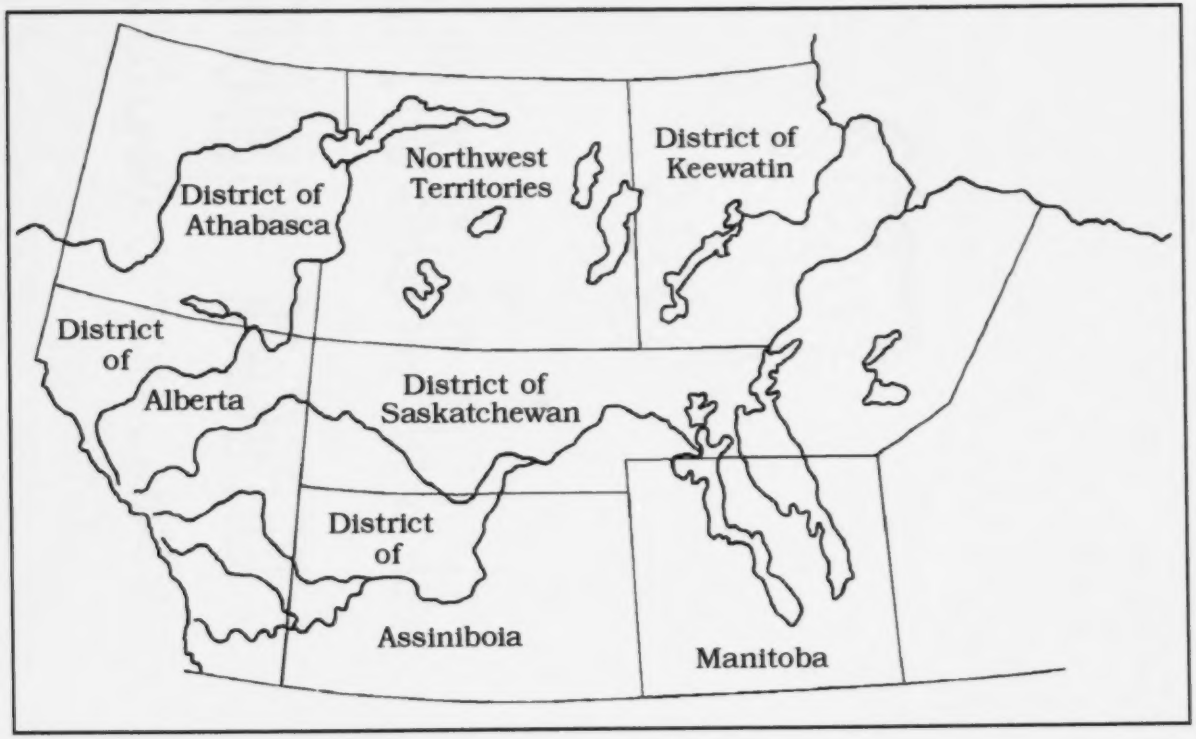
13 "The Creation of Provisional Districts," Orders in Council, John J. McGee to the Minister of the Interior, May 8, 1882, as presented in Douglas Owram (ed), *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1979, p. 52).

new districts - Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca - as well as their boundaries. Assiniboia would represent approximately 95,000 square miles; Saskatchewan 114,000 square miles; Alberta 100,000; and Athabasca 122,000 square miles by this new division. The area to the east of the District of Athabasca and north of the District of Saskatchewan would remain an area of land not designated as a district, but would simply continue with the name of the North-West Territories. By 1900, this would also be known as the District of Athabasca (see figure 1).

While the above mentioned changes to the North-West Territories redefined its territorial limits and produced a representative government, responsible government had not yet been achieved. The fight for this would be protracted, and would involve, on the one hand Macdonald and his "paternal despot", the North-West Territories Lieutenant-Governor Edgar Dewdney, and on the other, the pro-self-government Council member F. W. G. Haultain.

Haultain, a young lawyer from Ontario, arrived in Fort MacLeod in 1884 and was elected to the Council for the North-West Territories in 1887. Due to population increases in the Territories, the Council now consisted of fourteen members. (Further changes involved the erection of federal electoral districts in the Territories, which sent four representatives to the House of Commons along with two senators from the West.). Haultain was critical of Macdonald's National Policy and interpreted it as supporting only central Canada at the expense of the Western Territory. In those terms, duties on imports, Indian treaties, railway construction, immigration and settler programs, and the creation of the police force all seemed to support this argument. "...These

Figure 1 The North-West Territories in 1882



measures would counter American expansionism, provide cheap commodities for central consumption and export, and create a market for central manufactured goods."[14]

Encouraged by the Riel Rebellion in 1885 which they threatened would occur, the Council, with Haultain as an outspoken member, now proceeded to badger Ottawa for the right for responsible government. Introducing bills and studying old legislation for political loopholes, Haultain's constant pressure on Ottawa eventually began to produce effects. In 1888 the Council became a legislative assembly. Haultain's fight continued on with Dewdney's successor, Joseph Royal. After a brief period during which the entire assembly resigned in protest of Ottawa's non-compliance, responsible government was granted in the Territories with the creation of a cabinet on December 31, 1891. What followed was a move for provincial autonomy which saw the creation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. On February 21, 1905, Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced Bill 69, the "Alberta Bill". He said:

> Mr. Speaker, the Bill which I now have the honour to present, is for the admission of another member in the Canadian family of provinces. As the house, no doubt, has noticed, this Bill is to be followed immediately by another for the same purpose, in relation to the province of Saskatchewan.[15]

Thus, on this date, the North-West Territories would cease to exist.

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14 Byfield, p. 261.

15 "Laurier Introduces the Alberta Bill (no. 69), *House of Commons Debates*, February 21, 1905, vol. 69, p. 1421.

III. NATIVE LIFE, THE TREATIES AND INCREASED MIGRATION

In 1870, the population of the North-West Territories was between 40,000 to 50,000 people, although estimates vary according to the source cited on these figures. For example, Arthur Lower cites the estimate given by the census as a total population of 40,000 people, of which 30,000 were Indian, 9,500 were English- and French-speaking Métis, and 1,000 were white.[16] By contrast, Gerald Friesen states that 25,000 to 30,000 were Indian, 10,000 were Métis, and 2,000 were white.[17] The principal Indian groups were the Cree, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Sarcee, and Stoney (Mountain Assiniboine). Additionally, in the modern day area of southern Saskatchewan there were Ojibwa, in northern Saskatchewan the Chipewyan, and in northern Alberta, the Beaver. The largest of these groups was the Cree who, in the 1860's and 1870's, were allied with the Assiniboine against the most powerful and warlike group, the Blackfoot who formed a military confederation with the Blood, Peigan and Sarcee.

This increased militancy among the two major Indian groups in the region, which amounted to a war zone stretching along a line from Fort Edmonton to the Missouri in the 1860's to 1870's, was the result of several factors. First, the migration and movement of Plains Indian groups had been restricted prior to the mid-1700's due to the fact that all movement was completed on foot and with the aid of dogs. The introduction of the horse after that time period occurred quickly through Blackfoot warring raids with their southern enemies, the Shoshoni, who had acquired the horse earlier than the Blackfoot, but who lacked the

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16 J. Arthur Lower, *Western Canada: An Outline History*, (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1983, p. 98).

17 Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, p. 137).

latter group's modern technology, which included the rifle. Thus, travel over further distances became possible, allowing greater mobility in terms of warfare and village migration. Importantly, from this time onward, horses would remain a valued commodity and raiding would increase amongst bands for the acquisition of this possession. Second, due to trading with eastern tribes and with the Hudson's Bay Company, iron and steel implements as well as fire-arms became common in the region of the North-West Territories long before white men had been seen by the members of most tribes. With metal arrowheads, rather than flint, and the use of the rifle, hunting buffalo became significantly easier and more animals could be felled on tribal hunting excursions. Third, as many years of good hunting ensued and the white population encroached on the Western Territory both in Canada and the United States, the estimated 50 million head of buffalo ranging from the region of northern Alberta to Texas began to seriously decline. This was not only due to the increased mobility and weaponry of the Plains Indians, but uncontrolled hunting by white and Métis in Canada, and by the Sioux and American business interests to the south. The decline in buffalo numbers happened quickly, as is detectable from a comparison of various sources during the time period. For example, as noted by Paul Kane in 1846:

> During the whole of the three days that it took us to reach Edmonton House, we saw nothing else but those animals covering the plains as far as the eye could reach, and so numerous were they, that at times they impeded our progress, filling the air with dust almost to suffocation.[18]

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18 George F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960, p. 219).

But, by the 1870's, conditions had drastically changed. For instance, in 1871 "...Lieutenant Butler traversed the plains from Red River to the Rocky Mountains without seeing a single buffalo in twelve hundred miles of prairie."[19] Between those years, buffalo hunting had progressed from a matter of survival to a commercial venture. The Red River Métis' annual hunt had increased which at times witnessed over 1,200 carts sent from Red River to the plains to kill hundreds of buffalo at one time, often leaving all but the tongue to rot. Likewise, the U.S. cavalry killed the animals intentionally to rid the west of the Sioux, hides were valued to be used as belts to run eastern industrial machinery, and the American robe and leather industry was at its height in the 1870's and early 1880's. For example, as Stanley reports, "while 150,000 skins were disposed of in the market of St. Paul, U.S. in 1883, the supply in 1884 did not exceed 300; and the Game Report for 1888 stated that of all the countless thousands which had roamed the prairies, only six animals were known to be in existence."[20] Lastly, while the scarcity of buffalo continued to grow, some Canadian Indians followed the remaining buffalo herds across the U.S. border to the Montana plains on their annual migration. The effect of this, however, could prove to be disastrous, especially after 1876--the Sioux war with Custer--since the cavalry were actively on the hunt for Sioux encampments, and had the habit of targeting any Indian group in the region.

Thus, while the first two factors could be termed fundamental causes for the increased hostility between the Cree and the Blackfoot, the last of these precipitated the war due to forced migration by the Cree to

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19 Stanley, p. 200.
20 Stanley, p. 221.

new hunting grounds. Hence, "the Crees despaired of the hunts and the horse supply in their own territory (Fort Edmonton to the South Saskatchewan elbow to the Yellowstone-Missouri river forks) and began to move west into the neutral zone that separated them from the Blackfoot."[21] The area they began to inhabit was the Cypress Hills, approximately 150 miles west of the Blackfoot-Cree traditional boundary. Hostilities intensified after the Cree peacemaker Maskepetoon was murdered by the Blackfoot during an attempt to negotiate a peace treaty between the two Indian groups. He was a noted diplomat and negotiator, and had received great fame for his efforts, including a peace treaty ratified between the Cree and Blackfoot in the Peace Hills near modern-day Wetaskiwin in about 1850.

Aside from the state of war that persisted amongst the Cree and the Blackfoot in the late 1860's and 1870's over the depletion of the buffalo, several other aspects would combine to force the decline of the traditional native lifestyle in the North-West Territories and their passive acceptance of the treaties that would be negotiated throughout the 1870's. First, long before 1870, the Indians of the North-West had begun to become reliant on European goods and ways of life. This was primarily due to the appearance of the Hudson's Bay Company posts and the influence of its particular form of trade amongst the Indians. According to the philosophy of the Hudson's Bay Agents, the Indians were to be given provisions and weapons, even if they could not pay for them. Indians were turned into hunters for the Hudson's Bay Company, which supplied valuable markets in the East and in Europe, and in so doing, the Indians were gradually drawn away from their traditional

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21 Friesen, p. 131.

pattern of life. Friesen, for example, describes this process in regard to the Ojibwas of the Riding Mountain district:

> ...In order to retain the services of the Ojibwas as fur gatherers, the Hudson's Bay Company imported pemmican from its western posts and there exchanged these 'plains provisions' for the pelts of mink, marten, and fisher. Hence-forth, the Ojibwas were dependent on the trading company food. As time went on, pemmican was supplemented by flour and biscuits, and, eventually, the old native diet gave way to a European diet. The hunters had virtually become company employees: 'They trapped for the company and were provided with nearly all of their requirements at the company store on credit.' By a sleight-of-hand, it must have seemed, these Ojibwas had exchanged the autonomy of a hunting-gathering band for employee status and food.[22]

Second, whiskey-traders had so demoralized particular Indian groups that some chiefs welcomed the North-West Mounted Police and government intervention so that this problem could be alleviated. The first traders led by John Healy, made their way across the U.S.-Canadian border which the Indians referred to as the "Medicine Line," over the Sweet Grass Hills and the Milk River to the confluence of the St. Mary and Oldman Rivers. Fort Whoop-Up was built at this point, as mentioned above, soon to be followed by Fort Stand-Off at the junction of the Belly and Waterton Rivers, and Fort Slide-Out on the Belly River.

The whiskey-traders displayed a great deal of courage and recklessness crossing Blackfoot and Blood territory, but they also harbored a significant disrespect for the Indian. They traded whiskey for hides, furs and guns, stripping the natives of all that they had. As witnessed by the Catholic missionary, Father Constantine Scollen in

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22 Friesen, p. 130.

1874, the Indians fell victim to the white man and his craving for money, and were often found frozen for lack of clothes, or shot by American traders. States Father Scollen,

> ...I was traveling amongst the Blackfeet. It was painful for me to see the state of poverty to which they had been reduced. Formally they had been the most opulent Indians in the country, now they were clothed in rags without horses and without guns.[23]

The alcohol was also responsible for a great deal of violence between and within various Indian groups. Debauchery, demoralization, murder, rape and robbery became common place. For instance, one visitor to the West later recounted stories of how 70 Blood Indians died over a single winter as the result of behavior induced by liquor. And Alexander Staveley Hill, a retired whiskey-trader, testifies to his group's intentions with the following comments long after the era had passed away:

> If we had only been allowed to carry on the business in our own way for another two years, there would have been no trouble now as to feeding the Indians, for there would have been none left to feed: whiskey, pistols, strychnine, and other like processes would have effectively cleared away those wretched natives.[24]

Thus, it was understandable that the great chiefs of the Blackfoot Confederacy who negotiated Treaty 7 at Blackfoot Crossing in September to October 1877 actually wished for government protection from the

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23 Father Constantine Scollen, "A Letter to His Excellency the Governor of Manitoba," September 8, 1876, in Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*, (Toronto: Belfords and Clarke, 1991, p. 248).

24 MacGregor, pp. 94-95.

unscrupulous whiskey-traders. For instance, in addressing Col. McLeod the Button Chief asserted,

> The Great Spirit, and not the Great Mother [the Queen], gave us this land. The Great Mother sent Stamixotokon [or Bull's Head] (Col. McLeod) and the Police to put an end to the traffic in fire-water. I can sleep now safely. Before the arrival of the Police, when I laid my head down at night, every sound frightened me; my sleep was broken; now I can sleep sound and am not afraid.[25]

Likewise, Chief Crowfoot reiterated this sentiment,

> If the Police had not come to the country, where would we all be now? Bad men and whiskey were killing us so fast that very few, indeed, of us would have been left to-day. The Police have protected us as the feathers of a bird protect it from the frosts of winter. I wish them all good, and trust that all our hearts will increase in goodness from this time forward. I am satisfied. I will sign the treaty.[26]

Third, Indian bands were decimated by disease during the period. Although there had been outbreaks of smallpox in the past, the disease struck violently in the years 1869-1870. This followed a scarlet fever epidemic which engulfed the prairies in 1865. The total estimate of the number of Indian lives taken in 1869-1870 is unclear. However, if one accepts Captain John Palliser's estimate of the numbers in 1858 as being 27,500, only 13,500 existed by 1871.[27] Yet, John Archer claims that only 3,500 of these died in the 1869-1870 epidemic. Alternatively, Friesen states that in the period 1865-1875, two epidemics swept

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25 Morris, p. 270.
26 Morris, p. 272.
27 John H. Archer, *Saskatchewan: A History*, (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1980, p. 55).

through the prairie region and "...estimates of the death toll ranged upward from several thousand to half the plains population."[28] However, MacGregor argues that the numbers were definitely closer to half the population, utilizing statistics for the Saskatchewan District which may be then generalized to the entire area. As he confirms, "the official figures for the Saskatchewan District show that 2,686 of the plains Indians were swept away...."[29] Likewise, evidence from individual areas support this latter argument. For example, in St. Albert, 600 out of 900 individuals caught the disease, and 320 of these died.[30]

Last, the issue of land ownership and the migration of white settlers into the North-West Territories also severely threatened the future of the native people. The land was viewed as being given by the Great Spirit to the native people, and with the intrusion of white settlers into the region, their entitlement was being challenged. The Indians during the late 1860s and early 1870s pessimistically hung on to control of their lands, "...but they felt that sooner or later the ancient Indian prophecy would come true, "'the Pale-face shall trick the Indian out of his land till there is nothing left.'"[31] Thus, as time progressed, the idea of negotiating a treaty with the Canadian government became more accepted. However, the native people were particularly perturbed by the fact that settlers continued to flow into the area and to occupy the lands before a clear understanding had taken place with the government. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald received several letters and requests for interviews from the concerned chiefs of the Territories soon after he was

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28 Friesen, p. 132.
29 MacGregor, p. 92.
30 MacGregor, p. 92.
31 Stanley, p. 204.

installed into that position. For instance, the following excerpt form Chief Sweetgrass of the Fort Edmonton area was typical:

> Great Father,--I shake hands with you, and bid you welcome.--We heard our lands were sold and we did not like it; we don't want to sell our lands; it is our property, and no one has the right to sell them.
>
> Our country is getting ruined of fur-bearing animals, hitherto our sole support, and now we are poor and want help--we want you to pity us. We want cattle, tools, agricultural implements, and assistance in everything when we come to settle--our country is no longer able to support us.[32]

The chief's plea is pathetic, displaying the absolute state of poverty that the native people of the region were facing. Therefore, to address these problems, the Canadian government would soon venture into treaty negotiations with the Indians of the Territories.

Thus, Archibald remained worried in regard to the heightened anxiety and tension evidenced among the Indians, and waited anxiously for the arrival of the newly appointed Commissioner, W.M. Simpson, who's responsibility it would be to negotiate with the Indians. Immediately after Simpson's arrival at Fort Garry negotiations were begun. Archibald opened the talks on July 27, 1871 with a long preamble in which the government's paternalistic view of the native people as children who were wards of the state was evident.

> Your Great Mother wishes the good of all races under her sway. She wishes her red children to be happy and contented. She wishes them to live in comfort. She would like them to adopt the habits of the whites, to till the land and raise food, and store it up against a time of want. She thinks this would be the best thing for her red children to do, that it would

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32 Stanley, p. 205.

> make them safer from famine and distress, and make their homes more comfortable.
>
> Your Great Mother, therefore, will lay aside for you 'lots' of land to be used by you and your children forever. She will not allow the white man to intrude upon these lots. She will make rules to keep them for you, so that as long as the sun shall shine, there shall be no Indian who has not a place that he can call his home, where he can go and pitch his camp, or if he chooses, build his house and till his land.[33]

But the negotiations for Treaty 1 would set a precedent for the further treaties. By 1877, Treaties 2,3,4,5,6 and 7 would be complete, effectively changing the natives' pattern of life forever. Yet, on the whole, the Canadian treaties would be somewhat more palatable than what occurred in the United States. Although on the Canadian side the monetary compensation and land grants were smaller, there were no active policies of extermination or forced migrations as in the American example. For example, Sitting Bull and members of the Sioux had to be coaxed to return to the American side from the Wood Mountain area of Saskatchewan by Superintendent L.N.F. Crozier of the North-West Mounted Police in 1881, since he claimed that the Americans "'had come after him on all sides, taken his horses, land and money, and that he had been obliged to fight....'" As well, although there were many problems associated with the treaties, the Canadian treaty negotiations could be said to be somewhat more honest and wrought with integrity, than can be said of the American examples.

While Treaties 1 and 2 dealt with land allotment, the prohibition of liquor, the maintenance of schools, annuities of $3.00 per individual, and the observance of continued peace, Treaty 3 would grant much better

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33 Morris, pp. 28-29.

terms than the two previous treaties. Larger areas of land, greater annuities, including extra amounts for chiefs and headmen, $1500 for ammunition and twine, "as well as farm tools and implements, carpenter tools, seed and cattle to be given one time only."[34] Although Treaties 1-3 did not include lands within the North-West Territories, their terms of agreement are important since they set the trend for Treaties 4 through 7 which fell within this designated region. Treaty 4 involved the southern prairies from Fort Ellice to the Cypress Hills and stretched to Lake Winnipeg in the north, and was negotiated with the Ojibwa, Cree and Assiniboines. Although the Indians fought over the issue of sovereignty, and specifically the £300,000 the Hudson's Bay Company had been paid to extinguish its claims to the land, more moderate leaders settled for similar provisions as were attained in Treaty 3. Only a small area of Treaty 5 lands were within the region of the North-West Territories, the remainder being part of northern Manitoba and skirting the southwestern side of the Hudson's Bay. However, Treaty 5 was concluded within one day in September 1875 in response to both the urgency of the Cree-Ojibwa needs to begin farming, as well as the Canadian government's interest in the area's natural resources. It was doubtful whether the Indians understood the meaning of a treaty, or that they had forfeited their sovereignty to the area.

Both Treaties 6 and 7, signed in 1876 and 1877 respectively, were of great importance. Treaty 6 was negotiated with the Plains and Wood Cree in the area of modern-day central Saskatchewan and central Alberta. The Indians not only occupied a vast area, but were war-like and extremely upset over immigrants who had been pouring into the

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34 Friesen, p. 141.

area. Reverend George McDougall was sent to the region a year prior to the treaty negotiations to settle the excitement amongst the Indians in the area. The tension amongst the Cree is obvious from his letter addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Morris shortly after arriving. He states that:

> In accordance with my instructions, I proceeded with as little delay as possible to Carlton, in the neighborhood of which place I met with forty tents of Crees: From those I ascertained that the work I had undertaken would be much more arduous than I had expected, and that the principle camps would be found on the south branch of the Saskatchewan and Red Deer Rivers. I was also informed by these Indians that the Crees and Plains Assiniboines were united on two points: 1st. That they would not receive any presents from the Government until a definite time for treaty was stated. 2nd. Though they deplored the necessity of resorting to extreme measures, yet they were unanimous in their determination to oppose the running of lines, or the making of roads through their country, until a settlement between the Government and them had been effected. I was further informed that the danger of a collision with the whites was likely to arise from the officious conduct of minor Chiefs who were anxious to make themselves conspicuous, the principal men of the large camps being much more moderate in their demands.[35]

However, McDougall did succeed in calming the Crees, and the treaty was signed in Fort Carlton on August 23 and Fort Pitt on September 9, 1876. Aside from the previous treaties' provisions, it included the addition of a horse, harness and wagon for each chief, a medicine chest, further agricultural tools, and $1000 plus provisions for a three-year period for those Indians who engaged in agricultural pursuits. Importantly, it also contained a famine clause, which would make the

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35 Reverend George McDougall, "To His Honor Lieutenant-Governor Morris," October 23, 1875, in Morris, pp. 173-4.

government responsible for the provision of food and aid should a further famine occur.

Treaty 7 involving the Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee and Stoney in the area of modern day southern Alberta was also of great importance. The Indians in this area were the most warlike in Canada and had been involved for some period of time negotiating with government representatives. The ceremony which witnessed the gathering of hundreds of teepees and ten thousand horses along with the native groups and the new commissioner, David Laird, at Blackfoot Crossing on the Bow River in 1877, celebrated the event. But the balance of the decision to sign the document rested with Chief Red Crow of the Blood Indians and Chief Crowfoot of the Blackfoot nation. After a period of deliberations, Chief Crowfoot swung the majority in his favor toward the acceptance of the treaty based on his support for Commissioner McLeod's and the North-West Mounted Police's actions in protecting the Indians of this area from whiskey-traders and American soldiers. In final remarks to the ceremony, Lieut.-Col. McLeod replied:

> The Police will continue to be your friends, and be always glad to see you. On your part you must keep the Queen's laws, and give every information to them in order that they may see the laws obeyed and offenders punished. You may still look to me as your friend, and at any time when I can do anything for your welfare, I shall only be too happy to do so. You say that I have always kept my promises. As surely as my past promises have been kept, so surely have those made by the Commissioners be carried out in the future. If they were broken I would be ashamed to meet you or look you in the face; but every promise will be solemnly fulfilled as certainly as the sun now shines down upon us from the heavens. I shall always

> remember the kind manner in which you have to-day spoken of me.[36]

The Commissioner's words were sincere ones, yet they would not hold sway over the actions of Ottawa, or the Territorial and Provincial leaders. Treaty 7 granted the Indians similar terms of the previous treaties, with the addition of Winchester rifles for chiefs, and somewhat more in the way of agricultural implements as well as cattle. Although October 1877 marked the end of several years of negotiations with the Indians of the North-West Territories, Treaty 8 with the Cree, Beaver and Chipewyan in modern day northern Alberta, and Treaty 10 involving the Cree and Chipewyan of northwestern Saskatchewan would be signed in 1899 and 1906 respectively.

While white migration to the North-West Territories proceeded rather slowly at first due do such aspects as the preference for American lands, the short growing season, the expense of over sea travel and the lack of an adequate form of transportation to the West, things soon would change. Although the second Riel Rebellion in 1885 may have temporarily turned back prospective settlers, the early 1880s onward was a time of growing numbers in the prairies. As early as 1881, the Canadian Pacific Syndicate began an aggressive advertising campaign in Great Britain due to their desire "to people a British Dominion with British people...," since other suitable areas such as the middle western states were consuming immigrants rather than producing them.[37] By this same year with John A. Macdonald back in power, the construction

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36 Commissioner Lieut. Col. McLeod, "Address to the Chiefs of the Blackfoot Confederacy," October 20, 1877, in Morris, p. 275.

37 James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway*, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1939, p. 94).

of the C.P.R. was begun, and by September 1881, reached Brandon, Manitoba. Accordingly, along with construction came the settlers, "over 25,000 in 1881, about 100,000 in 1882--and the rush was merely starting."[38] Along the path areas of settlement became incorporated, from Regina in March to Calgary in November. By 1906, after provincial status had been achieved, Saskatchewan would have a total population of 257,763, while Alberta's was 185,412. The era of the Indian had passed from recognition. All that remained of the once great Indian nations could be found only on the reserves which dotted the prairie landscape.

CONCLUSION

Therefore, within a short period of time between the 1860s and 1880 the native people witnessed and endured a revolution in regard to cultural and societal change. In 1860 the Cree and Blackfoot were living at the height of a golden age of culture in which the buffalo was abundant across the fence-less prairie, and the chase ensued with the thunderous sound of lightening fast horses and the aid of repeating rifles. By 1880 all that had changed. The encroaching population decimated the buffalo herds, disease, whiskey-traders, famine and wars ravaged the Indian, and new boundaries and officials appeared claiming ownership to great tracts of territory to which the Indian in his lowered state of servitude could only agree. The native was totally unaware of the great eastern industrial cities which now focused with intensity upon the immense land and resources to the west. While the period of 1860 to 1880 had laid to waste the land, character and traditional culture of the

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38 MacGregor, p. 133.

Plains Indians, it would be the following period which would attempt to break their spirit from within. This new medicine was an old weapon of colonizing countries. The church and the school would attempt to assimilate the heathen towards white man's ways.

CHAPTER IV

NATIVE EDUCATION IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES: THE NEW WISDOM TRANSPLANTED: UTILITARIANISM AND "PURPOSEFUL SCHOOLING"

I. TRADITIONAL NATIVE EDUCATION

For several thousand years prior to the decade of the 1870s, Plains Indian culture in the region of the North-West Territories had been responsible for the education of the young. This form of education entailed several elements. First, it was essentially practical, stressing the survival of the individual and the group. For males this meant a knowledge of the construction and usage of weaponry and the skill of the hunt, whereas for females, all aspects associated with taking care of the lodge was expected. Yet as Hugh Dempsey contends in terms of the abilities required of Blackfoot members, this description was significantly more complex.

> In daily life there was a clear division of labour between men and women. The wives were responsible for pitching and striking the tepee, packing, cooking, manufacturing and decorating most clothing, caring for infants, training girls, and for the general maintenance of the lodge. The men provided food protected the camp, manufactured some objects related to religion and war, looked after the horses, and carried out raids on enemy camps. The men painted the exterior designs on lodges....Women did virtually all of the beadworking and quillworking, men painted religious symbols on shields, robes, rattles and carved or produced instruments of war.[1]

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1 Hugh A. Dempsey, "The Blackfoot Indians," in R. Bruce Morrison, and C. Roderick Wilson (eds), *Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986, pp. 423-424).

Second, religion permeated all aspects of native society, and the younger members of each band were to be immersed in the spirituality of the group from an early age. For example, teenagers were encouraged to take part in vision quests in order to acquire a spiritual helper; medicine bundles were carried by most individuals, which contained incense as well as sacred objects; and songs and prayer were part of native daily life. Additionally, annual religious festivals were important, such as the Sun Dance or the Medicine Lodge Ceremony.

Third, children were taught the political organization and structure of their group, and they participated in various organized societies both during their youth and throughout their adult years. For instance, there existed many dancing, warrior, police and secret societies with special duties and roles, and participation in band council meetings would be encouraged as they grew older.

Last, although Canadian Plains Indian groups had no form of written language until after the post-contact period, language acquisition and the knowledge of the oral tradition of one's group was of great importance. While there had been limited interruption to this form of education of the young prior to the Indian treaties (that which existed was from early missionary attempts), the post-treaty era would witness a significant lessening of the influence of native elders and native culture as the sources of educational training.

II. GOVERNMENT PLANS FOR EDUCATION

Government policy in terms of the native peoples of the North-West Territories would make three important assumptions as evidenced in the treaties. That nomadic people such as the Cree and Blackfoot would

adapt to reservation life; that hunting and gathering peoples could be easily converted to agricultural pursuits; and that under the auspices of the educational system and the Christian mission, the Indians could become "civilized" Canadian citizens. The first two of these aspects were avoided by most Indians until they were absolutely forced onto the reservations due to starvation from lack of buffalo or good hunting remaining on the prairies. Once there, the government could attempt to exert its influence through the institution of the school. As Indian Superintendent Provencher had written in the midst of the early treaty negotiations in 1873,

> treaties may be made with them simply with a view to the extinction of their rights, by agreeing to pay them a sum, and afterward abandon them to themselves. On the other side, they may be instructed, civilized and led to a mode of life more in conformity to the new position of this country, and accordingly, make them good, industrious and useful citizens.[2]

However, by the end of the 1870s, evidence suggests that many of the Indians had not chosen to accept these provisions, and instead, correctly argued that they were not absolutely required to by the stipulations of the treaties. For example, both Treaties 6 and 7 state that the "...Indians, shall have the right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered...,"and that they would be rewarded with implements and annuities should they decide to stay on reserve lands and farm.[3] Yet, cattle rustling was on the rise, and a massive Indian famine occurred during the years 1879-1880. While the

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2 Joseph A.N. Provencher, "A Letter to the Minister of the Interior," December 31, 1873, *Canada Sessional Papers*, vol. vii, 8, 1875.

3 Alexander Morris, "The Treaties At Forts Carlton and Pitt, Number Six," in Morris, p. 353.

government was forced to pay over $66,000 for emergency food supplies for the starving natives, it would have been significantly more if not for "the fact that so many Canadian Indians had pursued the rumors of buffalo herds across the frontier, into the United States...."[4] Even as late as January 1882, the Indian commissioner, Edgar Dewdney, stated that well over half the Indians in the North-West Territories had not as yet reported to the reserves. After further periods of starvation, disease, rumors of more buffalo, and the penetration of isolated groups over the American border, the majority of Indians gave in and relocated to the reserves by the mid-point of 1883. Although Indian frustration would resurface again in the North-West Rebellion of 1885, the first aspect of government policy was complete.

The native role as an agriculturist, however, would be eventually doomed to failure. This was not only due to the fact that this stationary form of economy was foreign to their culture, but also directly related to the government policy of Indian affairs. In 1878 the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs restated the wishes of the government which was proposed within the treaties. "'Instructions in farming, or herding and raising cattle should be furnished to the Indians,'" which "'will effectively accomplish, within the shortest period...to make them self-supporting.'"[5] Upon Ottawa's urging, agricultural instructors were sent to various reserves within the Territories to aid the natives in the change to subsistence agriculture. Yet the results were mixed. In the way were the incapabilities of the instructors to properly teach the Indians, the lack of Indian farm

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4 Stanley, p. 227.
5 Stanley, p. 237.

implements and methods of preserving the ones they had, Ottawa's delays in shipping seed to areas, and most of all, the inability of the Indians to make immediate adjustments to this form of subsistence.

Additionally, this lack of success was promoted by government officials. While some Indian groups had experienced limited success and in 1888 began to purchase more advanced equipment, Hayter Reed, the then Indian Commissioner, promptly disallowed these ventures. "...Enraptured by the latest sociological theory, on the resettlement of primitive peoples overtaken by advanced technological societies," he advocated "peasant agriculture."[6] This ideology supported the use of simple hand tools used only on individual plots. Thus, with his policy enforced in 1889, at the same time as white settlers were employing the latest implements of agricultural technology, many native people became disheartened and simply gave up.

The role of education would, however, be more enduring on the government's part. For in it lay the possibility of molding the Indian toward the "enlightened" level achieved by white nineteenth-century society. This form of thought was borrowed directly from the evolutionists--Huxley and Spencer--who as shown elsewhere characterized the form of later nineteenth-century thought. To many of the reformers the natives of the North-West were seen as "primitive" and "barbaric," and these individuals were challenged to raise the natives' lot to a higher stage of civilization. This could not be accomplished without the aid of the church, however, since to the reformers the Indians' cultural practices and behavior were deprived of an acceptable form of morality. The end result would be a morally-based instruction of

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6 Byfield, p. 88.

practical pursuits; a technical education with a utilitarian goal. The Indians' period of servitude was only beginning.

Long before government policy would be formulated for the West, experience with Canadian native groups would lead to the development of a particular philosophy from central Canada. For instance, in a "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," dated 1847, the following comments were made:

> ...that the true and only practicable policy of the Government, with reference to their interests, both of the Indians and the community at large, is to endeavour, gradually, to raise the Tribes within the British Territory to the level of their white neighbours.... To escape these consequences, no choice is left, but to remove beyond the pale of civilization, or to settle and cultivate the land for a livelihood....Against these latter evils [intoxication and hostilities], Christianity and religious instruction have been found both a prevention and a remedy.[7]

Notably, while adopting a philosophy similar to this, control over native education in the North-West Territories would involve several other changes in the period 1870-1905. As described in Section 91 of the B.N.A. Act in 1867, the federal government was responsible for native affairs. Since Section 93 had placed education under the power of the provincial legislatures, the federal government would assume control over native education. However, as J.W. Chalmers asserts, "In the West, before 1871, only three schools, all in Manitoba, were covered by agreements with the federal government, although shortly afterwards,

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7 "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," *Journal of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, 1847*, in Alison L. Prentice and Susan E. Houston (eds), *Family, School and Society In Nineteenth-Century Canada*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 218-219).

two others in the North-West Territories, at The Pas and Cumberland House were added."[8]

In 1873 an Indian Affairs Branch was established, although this would remain under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior until 1880 when it achieved independent status. The first Indian Act in 1876 discussed the definition of what constituted an "Indian," and this would have a divisive effect in terms of legal and legislative control over various groups. Importantly, those individuals of native origin who were not considered "status" Indians, would be subject to the articles of the Manitoba Act of 1870 and the North-West Territories Act of 1875 in regard to most aspects including education. In terms of the education of native peoples, the Act only made possible band contributions to Indian schools with approval (section 59) and provided regulation for school house construction and repair (subsection 6 of section 63), but it suggested the goal of Indian education was enfranchisement:

> Any Indian who may be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine; or to any other degree to any University of Learning; or who may be admitted to any Province of the Dominion to practice law either as an Advocate or as a Barrister or Counsellor or Solicitor or Attorney or to be a Notary Public, or who may enter Holy Orders or who may be licensed by any denomination of Christians as a Minister of the Gospel, shall *ipso facto* become and be enfranchised under the Act.[9]

Thus, the negotiations and signing of the treaties by the federal government were to begin during a period before there existed an Indian

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8 J.W. Chalmers, *Education Behind The Buckskin Curtain: A History of Native Education in Canada*, Staff Study, Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1970, p. 139.

9 Canada, 39 Victoria, "An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians (The Indian Act, 1876)," *Statutes of Canada*, c. 18, 86(1).

Affairs Branch or Indian Act, yet as Chalmers contends, "...the federal government blithely went ahead signing treaties with Western Indians and assuming responsibilities for education, health, and welfare, and other services."[10] But as noted from a comparison of Treaties 4, 6 and 7, the government seemed to lessen its level of responsibility toward the Indians of the North-West in regard to education as the treaties progressed. For example, as included in Treaty 4, "...Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school in the reserve, allotted to each band, as soon as they settle on said reserve, and are prepared for a teacher."[11] Treaty 6, on the other hand, stipulates that "...Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made, as to her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it."[12] While by contrast, Treaty 7 provides only for teachers' salaries: "...Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of the said Indians as to her Government of Canada may see advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers."[13]

The 1880s and 1890s witnessed little change in the advancement of native education, and if anything, it was characterized by increased control by the federal government at the same time as plans and ordinances for schools under the provincial legislatures were being granted. Although, in the Indian Act of 1880, some control was given to various bands in regard to the religion of their teachers, the right to religious schools and the restatement of the 1876 proposal that the

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10 Chalmers, p. 141.
11 "The Qu'Appelle Treaty, Number Four," in Morris, p. 333.
12 "The Treaties At Forts Carlton and Pitt, Number Six", in Morris, p. 353.
13 "The Treaty With The Blackfeet, Number Seven", in Morris, p. 371.

bands were responsible for the construction and repair of school buildings, the federal government was still in control of school buildings, teachers and salaries, curriculum design and school inspectors. E.R. Daniels, for example, suggests that local control of the religious school question, which paralleled that given provincial jurisdiction in section 93 of the B.N.A. Act, was in response to "...fierce competition between the various faiths for the souls of the Indian people and the bodies of the Indian children...."[14] The resulting pressure applied to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in the form of petitions and complaints thus promoted this change. The 1880 Act also changed the rule to which enfranchisement would be granted due to one's educational attainment. Now, this required petition to the Superintendent General before it could be achieved.[15]

Likewise, in the Act of 1884, the Superintendent General was now given the power to lease the lands of those Indians in various professions or acting as teachers, for their benefit, and chiefs were permitted the right to require rules of mandatory school attendance from children age seven to fifteen. The Indian Advancement Act of the same year (what Chalmers refers to as the "Indian Retardation Act"), increased the paternalistic nature of federal control.[16] It supported a dualistic view of Indian bands, allowing more "advanced" ones the powers already existing within the Indian Act in terms of education, while limiting the powers of those deemed not as "advanced." In 1894 further amendments to the Indian Act were passed, which gave power back to the Governor in

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14 E.R. Daniels, *The Legal Context of Indian Education in Canada*, Unpublished Ph.D.. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973, p. 95.

15 Canada, 43 Victoria, "An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians (The Indian Act 1880)," *Statutes of Canada*, c. 28, 99(1).

16 Chalmers, 140.

Council to attempt to enforce school attendance (subsection 137), and to establish industrial or boarding schools for this purpose as well as to make regulations regarding the length of a child's stay and to provide annuities for their care (subsection 138). Thus subsection 137 read that

> such regulations, in addition to any other provisions deemed expedient, may provide for the arrest and conveyance to school, and detention there, of truant children and of children who are prevented by their parents or guardians from attending: and such regulations may provide for the punishment, upon summary conviction, by fine or imprisonment, or both, of parents and guardians, or parents having the charge of children, who fail, refuse or neglect to cause such children to attend school.[17]

And according to subsection 138, the Governor in Council could

> ...establish an industrial school or boarding school for Indians, or may declare any existing school to be such industrial or boarding school for the purposes of this section.
>
> 2. The Governor in Council may make regulations, which shall have the force of law, for the committal by justices or Indian agents of children of Indian blood under the age of sixteen years, to such industrial school or boarding school, there to be kept, cared for and educated for a period not extending beyond the time at which such children shall reach the age of eighteen years.
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> 3. Such regulations may provide, in such manner as the Governor in Council seems best, for the application of the annuities and interest monies of children committed to such industrial school or boarding school, to the maintenance of such schools respectively, or to the maintenance of the children themselves.[18]

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17 Canada, 57-58 Victoria, "An Act Further to Amend the Indian Act," c. 32, 11.

18 Canada, 57-58 Victoria, "An Act Further to Amend the Indian Act," c. 32, 11.

Thus, it was obvious that at the heart of the issue of Indian education in Canada the federal government conceived of its role to be one of molding the Indian's nature toward a more acceptable identity. As such, the government could be likened to that of an all-knowing father, allowing its children under the guise a of limited freedom of choice to be directed towards specific goals in their best interest. The goal in this instance would be to "civilize" the native, at which point they may be given authority over their own conduct and equal and legal rights in the Dominion of Canada--stated more succinctly, enfranchisement.

III. TYPES OF INDIAN EDUCATION

The history of schooling in the Canadian North-West Territories during the period 1870 to 1905 largely follows the precedent established by missionaries who flowed into the area. They would come representing several Christian churches and establish missions throughout the Territory. As an outgrowth of their activity to win converts to Christ, schooling for the young would be emphasized at mission posts. This would eventually become more formalized with government involvement and the development of boarding and industrial schools, whereby children were separated from their families to attempt to speed up the process of assimilation. Thus, throughout the entire period, the Christian religion would be intimately intertwined with the education process. The goal would be to "enlighten" and "civilize" the "primitive" native toward the ideals of nineteenth-century European society.

The Hudson's Bay Company had originally penetrated the Canadian frontier motivated by economic interests in regard to the trade in furs. As previously stated, it was in the Company's best interest to

treat the Indian well since it strongly relied on Indian hunting and trade for the success of its ventures. As evidenced by John Archer, prior to 1821, "rivalry between fur companies and the abuse of the Indians had caused enmity and dislocation, and these conditions had harmed the trade itself."[19] To be profitable, therefore, the policy of the Company after 1821, when it regained monopoly control, would have "its roots partly in good business practices, but also in humanistic ideals."[20] To encourage religious activity amongst the native would help extend the Company's message of goodwill, whilst having the secondary effect of bolstering its image in the European markets.

Thus, a barrage of missionaries began to flow into the West. The Roman Catholics had come as early as 1743, but did not construct permanent posts until the early 1800s, when leaders such as Joseph Norbert Provencher and Father's Laflêche, Tachê, Lacombe, Ritchot, Decorby and Thibault proceeded to accomplish this task. The Church of England displayed its presence in the Canadian West between the 1820s and 1840s, represented by such individuals as Reverend's West, Hunter, Hunt and Bishop Anderson of the organization's Church Missionary Society. The Methodists arrived in 1840 with the likes of Reverend Evans and John and George McDougall, while the Presbyterians under Reverend's Black, Nisbet, Flett and Mackay began to stretch their powers over the area of Red River into the Saskatchewan district. The Wesleyan Society of London claimed the first missionary to reside in the area of Fort Edmonton. And although Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle had been preceded to the area by Father's Francois Blanchet and Modeste Demers

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19 Archer, p. 38.
20 Archer, p. 38.

on their way to Fort Vancouver, Rundle remained in the area until the late 1840s. He serviced the Indians "...from modern-day Saskatoon on the east to Jasper on the west, and from Banff in the south...to Lesser Slave Lake in the north."[21]

Yet there were worries about the role of the missionaries as possible threats to the financial gain of the Hudson's Bay Company. Its agent, John Rowand, expressed doubts as to the way religion was changing the lives of the natives. He exclaimed that "'...the natives will never work half so well now--they like praying and singing.'"[22] However, his observations were obviously exaggerations since a great deal of evidence exists which suggests that the pattern of trade prevailed. Thus, as the missionaries became more permanent fixtures within the North-West Territories, their posts which were scattered throughout the Territory took on the additional function of offering education to the Indians. Therefore, by 1870 the form of education which existed for the native, would be firmly within the hands of the various sects of Christian missionaries.

When it became obvious that the assimilation of adult Indians was not about to take place easily, due to the inability to get them all on reserves; the dismal results of the attempts at instilling the virtues and skills of an agricultural lifestyle; as well as their refusal to give up old traditions and practices; the missionaries began to focus squarely on the assimilation of native children. The period witnessed three forms of native schooling--the day school, boarding school, and the industrial school--and the goals of these schools were different only in terms of the

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21 MacGregor, pp. 64-65.
22 MacGregor, p. 65.

degree to which the churches and government felt a need for the urgency of assimilation to take place.

In the 1870s, the day school simply represented a continuation of what the missionaries had be practicing for some time. Day schools were located at mission posts, and these posts were the exclusive terrain of the particular religious sect which claimed the area. The choice of teachers would be made by the senior member of the faith inhabiting the post, and the duties would most likely fall upon the lesser members of the staff (nuns in the case of Roman Catholics). However, in the later years of this time period, regular teachers may have been employed, but the selection process was still controlled by the members of the church. After the negotiation of the Indian treaties, the government chose to leave education in the hands of the church and offered a modest form of financial support to help run these types of schools. The advantage of the day school from the perspective of the natives, was that it was located within the vicinity of the Indian families in the area of the post, and later upon the reserve lands (which would be seen as less harmful than boarding or industrial schools).

Yet from the missionary's point of view, there were several serious problems associated with this form of schooling. First, the government allotment of grants--$12 per capita after the era of the treaties--was not large enough to effectively educate a majority of children who were scattered over a relatively large area of territory. Second, a great deal of tension existed between rival religious sects as to securing the Indians' affiliation and dedication to one religion's faith and school. Small numbers, or the loss of souls to another sect could translate into inadequate funds in terms of government support for the operation of the

mission and the school. This in turn, could force the mission to rely on funding from the Churches' parent organizations whose support was often absent altogether or sporadic at best. The rivalry which existed was to a great extent between Catholics and Protestants and Ian Getty displays this in his analysis of the problems between the Anglicans under John Tims and the Roman Catholics in the region of southern Alberta:

> Both churches jealously guarded their flocks, and any overture to the other group brought immediate censure. Tims was accused of stealing converts with offers of food and clothing, while the Anglicans accused the priests of forcing Blackfoot children to attend the Catholic Industrial School near High River. Whenever one denomination opened a day school, the other followed suit to maintain the *status quo*. A balance was maintained in all areas of activity--education, church structure, medical buildings, and number of personnel.[23]

Relations between rival religious groups for schooling privileges often resulted in open hostilities, and greater or lesser numbers of students due to the various gifts offered. This often left native groups bewildered as to the real intentions of the missionaries' efforts.

Third, the largest problem was that in day schools the children were in too close of proximity with their parents and native cultural practices. Thus, if to Christianize meant to civilize, then to educate native children to the "proper" modes of conduct would require a distancing of them from their communities. By doing this, the essentials of Victorian morality--love of God, knowledge of the English language, an individualistic and capitalistic frame of reference and all behavior

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23 Ian A. Getty, "The Failure of the Native Church Policy of the CMS in the North-West," in Richard Allen (ed), *Religion and Society in the Prairie West*, (Regina: Canadian Plains research Center, University of Regina, 1974, p. 26).

deemed appropriate by nineteenth-century European standards--could be realized. In their enthusiasm, the missionary educators took little notice of the complexities of native culture, religion or patterns of relationships:

> 'The Indian child must be taught many things which came to the white child without the schoolmaster's aid. From the days of its birth, the child of civilized parents is constantly in contact with civilized modes of life, action, thought, speech, dress; and is surrounded by a thousand beneficent influences....He [the Indian child] must be led out from the conditions of this birth, in his early years, into the environments of civilized domestic life, and he must be thus led by his teacher.'[24]

To address these problems, many churches established boarding schools during the late 1870s and 1880s. Boarding schools would be situated on large reserves, but unlike day schools, they would require students to stay at the location of the school. To the church and government officials, this had the "positive" effects of removing native children from contact with their parents and culture, as well as ensuring that their attendance occurred on a regular basis. The curriculum was designed to prepare young boys for the world of practical employment within a market economy emphasizing such vocations as agriculture, construction and mechanics, while girls were immersed in the proper arts of nineteenth-century domestic service. Instruction in the English language was the cornerstone of boarding school life, since its learning and usage would be the quickest method through which the prevalence of the child's culture could be negated. The Department of Indian Affair's

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24 David A. Nock, *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis Vs. Cultural Replacement*, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988, p. 74).

financial support for students was $72 per capita per year, to help school officials defray the costs of providing them an education, as well as to help cover the expenses of room and board. For example, E. Palmer Patterson's account creates a strong impression of what the school life was like:

> Residential schools were created for the Indian children. There efforts were made to erase the effects of their infancy and childhood experiences. They were sometimes under considerable pressure, including physical punishment, to give up their customs and religion, and to stop speaking their mother tongue. In some cases corporal punishment was the penalty for being heard to speak their own language. The quality of instruction was not high and the level of their schooling was 'well below' what it would have been after the same number of years of schooling in a school for white children.[25]

Likewise, the boarding school era witnessed untold arguments between the Protestants and Catholic orders with some intercession by government officials. The Indians--the focal point of decisions by these two levels--exercised little control over their destiny. For example, Diane Persson's account of the establishment of a school for the Blue Quills Band illustrates this point. Her work depicts ongoing arguments between both Methodists and Catholics over the building of a residential school on the Saddle Lake Reserve and petitions to government from individuals and chiefs in the area concerning the issue. The condition of affairs in this area also served to divide native people since "the Indian agent determined that of the 125 band members, 56 per cent were

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25 E. Palmer Patterson, *The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500*, (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1972, p. 134).

Catholic, and 44 per cent Protestant...."[26] And while Chief Seenum inquired "whether the church could trespass and build on land without the owner's consent...." Bishop Grandin made the statement "'that they (Roman Catholic) can and will build where they choose.'"[27] Indeed, the confrontations would often lead to confusion by the natives as to the intent and purpose of each denominations' activity. Thus, the problem would often "result in a convert being baptized by one and then baptized a second time by the other,"[28] and some of the people who were aware of differences which existed between denominations "wanted their children to experience each one."[29]

The campaign for the educational assimilation of native people continued onward one further step. The most extreme form of native schooling which blatantly displayed the aim of native policy, was the industrial school. As already stated, by the late 1870s many natives in the North-West Territories were in an extremely impoverished situation. Many had not settled on reserves as yet, but the buffalo was almost non-existent. For those on reserves, the agricultural lifestyle was not successful, and adult Indians were resistant to the inducement to change. While day schools lacked success in regard to the assimilation of native children, boarding schools had mixed reviews as well. Additionally during this period, John A. Macdonald and the Conservatives had come back into power, and he was eager to finish the implementation of his National Policy which would aim at completing the

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26 Diane Iona Persson, "Blue Quills: A Case Study of Indian Residential Schooling," University of Alberta, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1980, p. 47.

27 As cited in Persson, p. 47.

28 Persson, p. 39.

29 Persson. p. 48.

railway link to the West, and encouraging settlement by easterners and immigrants.

Thus, to speed up the process of native relocation to reserves as well as their adjustment to a sedentary lifestyle, Macdonald sent lawyer Nicholas F. Davin to the United States on the request of the Deputy Minister of the Interior, J.S. Dennis, to study the American Indian industrial schools. In his document entitled "Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds," Davin was so taken with the results of the American-style boarding schools that he advocated their support and establishment in Canada. He notes the similar experiences with natives that both countries shared, but he was especially taken with how the American industrial schools tended to "civilize" the native, and in terms of five particular tribes--the Chickasaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws and Seminoles--the schooling produced what he referred to as "happy results." In terms of their application in Canada,

> ...Davin recommended that the Canadian government help establish three Church-run industrial boarding schools. For all the schools, Davin advocated rewards to pupils and parents for attendance, future compulsory education, teachers of high morale and intellectual character, and inspection of the teachers' work. Further education as Department clerks or teachers ought to be available to bright native pupils.[30]

While the Davin Report was greeted eagerly by government officials, it would be a period of several years before the plan was actually implemented. During this period the government negotiated with

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30 Jacqueline Gresko, "White 'Rites' and Indian 'Rites': Indian Education and Native Responses in the West, 1870-1910," in *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West*, by David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan and Robert M. Stamp (eds), (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1979, p. 90).

churches in the North-West for the establishment of industrial schools, and tended to the immediate conditions of the natives by sending money, food and supplies for their support. In 1883, it was decided that industrial schools would be built to serve each of the three treaty territories as negotiated in Treaties 4, 6 and 7, and additionally, each of these schools would be run in cooperation with distinct religious denominations. Therefore, the Roman Catholics would be in charge of a school at High River as well as at Qu'Appelle, while the Anglicans would manage a school at Battleford. The intent would be to provide schooling for selected Indian youth--graduates of the day and boarding schools--up to the age of eighteen, at a location situated off the reserves and mysteriously close to large white settlements. The proximity to such centers as Calgary, Regina and Battleford was no doubt an added effort to assimilate the youths more thoroughly, as well as to present the schools as a showcase for white society. Thus, the establishment of industrial schools upon the Canadian prairies displayed a full-scale attempt by the federal government and church organizations alike at acculturation (or as David Nock assumes, cultural replacement) of the native peoples.

A. The Model For Industrial Schools

As noted above, the main impetus for the development of industrial schools in the North-West Territories came from Davin's investigation of the American model. Yet, in both the American and Canadian examples, eastern influences had sparked the genesis of the industrial school movement which would be attempted in the West.

In eastern Canada, for example, these forms of institutions were being evaluated long before they would become policy within the prairie region. Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent in Upper Canada had recommended and supported the idea of boarding schools in the mid-1800s. He contended that they were essential to teach Indian children the English language, religion, as well as mechanic ability, trades and agricultural techniques. Ryerson's belief that boarding schools would best be controlled through the administration of the church with the aid of government allotments in terms of funding, would become the accepted method for industrial schools both within Canada and the United States. The success of these schools would be achieved through the required dislocation of the students from their families and homes, and reports from government officials and others would attest to the fact that the schools' goals were being accomplished. For example, as witnessed by L. Vankoughnet, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs in response to Macdonald, the students of Brantford School all appear "'healthy, clean, well-dressed' and contented."[31] Moreover, he went on to report the benefits of the Mohawk students' practical pursuits--agricultural and trade studies, as well as sewing and other domestic activities, and as Kennedy contends, the Superintendent was so gratified with what was displayed that he stated in regard to the students that "'their proficiency...would be considered creditable even for white children.'"[32]

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31 Jacqueline Judith Kennedy, *Qu'Appelle Industrial School: White 'Rites' For the Indians of the Old North-West*, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Ottawa: Carleton University, 1970, p. 25.

32 As cited in Kennedy, p. 26.

Likewise, N.F. Davin upon his return from the United States had nothing but praise for the industrial schools he had observed in that country. Although the American situation pertaining to the education of native people was similar in many respects to conditions in Canada, their social, political and economic conditions varied to a significant degree. Eastern white interests clamoring for more farmland pressured the United States government to conceive of a designated area which would be termed "Indian Territory." And as McBeth asserts, "the concept of an Indian Territory was intimately associated with 'removal,' whereby Indians living east of the Mississippi were to be 'removed' to lands west of the Mississippi for the protection of all involved parties."[33]

Removal was begun under President Jefferson after an Act of Congress in 1804, and intensified shortly after Andrew Jackson was elected to the presidency in 1828. And adding to this pressure on the Indian way of life was the abolition of all Indian systems of tribal government and the reduction of land allotted as Indian Territory by 1840. Coupled with a government negotiated system of reservations, problems within the Territory intensified.

> The size of the Indian Territory decreased and the number of tribes residing there increased. Between 1820-80 over 60 tribes were established in what is now Oklahoma, and the internal reservation boundaries shifted continually. Conflict within and between tribes and between Indians and White settlers resulted as populations increased. Demands for limited lands and resources, increased availability and use of liquor, fewer buffalo, and decreasing rations led to tension and violence.[34]

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33 Sally J. McBeth, *Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians*, (Washington: University Press of America, 1983, p. 43).

34 McBeth, p. 49.

But pressure from the United States government in terms of treaty negotiation and military threat temporarily subsided with the outbreak of the Civil War. Yet the post-war reconstruction period would witness a resurgence of treaty agreements which further eroded native lands and uprooted various tribal groups only to unceremoniously dump them within the area designated as Indian Territory. For example in 1866, the Creek, Cherokee, Seminole and Choctaw-Chickasaw gave up approximately one half of their land in this area and the eastern portion was renamed "Oklahoma Territory," while the western portion kept the title "Indian Territory." The influx of white settlers into the Territory, railroad construction, lack of food resources and the increased size and power of the United States military lessened the ability of natives to negotiate effectively.

While those Indian groups who had supported the Confederacy had their treaties declared null and void in the 1860s, by 1871 the United States government had absolved itself from further treaty negotiations with native people.

> No Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty; but no obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired.[35]

From this time on issues affecting native people would be dealt with through Congressional enactment or executive order.

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35 As cited in Edward H. Spicer, *A Short History of the Indians of the United States*, (New York: Van Nostrand, 1969, p. 205).

It was within this political, economic and social milieu that industrial schools were utilized in the Western Territory. The expressed goal of these schools would be similar to the Canadian example--to "civilize" and "Christianize" the native children. And a complete acculturation would be attempted through, with some exception, the off-reservation placement of industrial schools.

The model for the industrial schools of the Western region, however, would continue to be shaped by the interests of the east. Not only was the seat of government located here, but the philosophical concerns of federal leaders were actively put into practice in the West through contractual arrangement with either the local Indian agency or a particular missionary sect. These contracts involved the payment of government monies on a per student basis which was to help defer the cost of school construction, maintenance and educational fees. "Students began with a grant off $125 per capita for the missionary administrators' use, but as the school grew larger and [sic] costs supposedly decreased so that schools having thirty or more pupils received only $100 from the government."[36]

The most prominent school within this movement was actually located in the east. This was the Carlisle Indian School established by the American army captain, Richard Henry Pratt, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Pratt, upon conducting a tour of the Indian Territory of Oklahoma in the late 1860s, was most impressed with the "'intelligence, civilization and common sense'" of the Indian scouts from this region.[37] Later, while performing duties as a jail keeper in Fort Marion, Florida

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36 Kennedy, p. 38.
37 Kennedy, p. 58.

where rebellious Indians from the west had been detained, Pratt began to instruct some of the prisoners in the English language and practical trades. When several of the prisoners requested to stay in the east to further their education, Pratt conceived of an idea for the creation of an Indian School. After making appeals to government, the Carlisle Industrial School was established in 1879 and won the praise of educators, government officials and philanthropists across the United States. Carlisle School "provided the model for the others to follow in transforming Indian youth into English-speaking, industrious citizens capable of rapid assimilation into White American society."[38]

However, in industrial schools both in Canada and the United States a dark side was evident:

> ...schools with poorly qualified teachers who cared little for the pupils; a harsh philosophy permeating classrooms and dormitories, making the children feel inferior and ashamed of Indian ways. In the worst cases, native languages were forbidden; young children were taught in English which they didn't understand, parental visits were forbidden, and heavy demands were made on the children for housekeeping, gardening, and other chores.[39]

But even after negative reports regarding the "effectiveness" of industrial schools began to make their way across the border from the United States, coupled with the ill effects residential policy had upon native children in established schools to the east, the government was still committed to a system of residential schooling for the North-West

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38 Kennedy, pp. 60-61.

39 Helen Buckley, *From Wooden Ploughs to Welfare: Why Indian Policy Failed in the Prairie Provinces*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992, p. 48).

Territories. "However poorly they may have worked elsewhere, they would do the job in the West."[40]

B. Curriculum And Instruction

The intention of the curriculum as experienced in the industrial schools within the North-West Territories can likewise be described through a comparison with the American model. For instance, Kennedy in her analysis of the Qu'Appelle Industrial School states that the sole aim of the curriculum was the acculturation of Indian children to the values of white society. As such, the application of acculturation within schools of the North-West Territories existed somewhere between the "directed" version as experienced within native schools in British Columbia, and the "forced" or coercive model more typical of those in the United States. As described by Kennedy,

> in British Columbia, the Indian Industrial Schools at Saint Mary's Mission and at Metlakatlah formed parts of a system of community-wide education. The missionary supervisors hoped to replace traditional patterns of life gently by continuing yet subsuming aboriginal ways which fit Christian theology and ethics, such as the practice of having moral watchmen in each village. In such schema for 'civilization' by cultural synthesis, industrial school leavers would go out as 'fork lifts' for their peers and parents....American administrators set up manual labour boarding schools to remove the individual child completely from the Indian community, completely replace its pattern of life and enfranchise the native youth. Then he might quickly assimilate to the mainstream of American life while providing a beacon to guide the less fortunate, to individually recognize and follow the White, civilized, Christian path of righteousness.[41]

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40 Buckley, p. 47.

41 Kennedy, p. 56.

In order to facilitate these objectives, the pattern of acculturation at Canadian industrial schools would assume several other propositions with regard to the aims of Indian education. Most notably among these was a desired age and gender of school attenders; the dislocation from family and friends; an emphasis on religion, the English language, as well as technical and agricultural studies; and a proposed goal for successful graduates of the Industrial School system.

Initially, the industrial schools within the areas of Treaty 4, 6 and 7, which were established in 1884-85, were only intended to instruct male children between the ages of six and seventeen. This was based upon advice given John A. Macdonald from the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Vankoughnet. However, faced with economic hard times within the mid-1880s, the upper limit was reduced to children up to fourteen years of age. A further recommendation from the Assistant Indian Commissioner, Hayter Reed, suggested that not only should younger boys be recruited, but also those who were orphans or without proper guardians to provide them care. In regard to the education of Indian girls, their numbers were at first scant in relation to that of males, and confined only to the two Catholic run industrial schools. Upon appeal to the Department of Indian Affairs in 1884, however, this situation was changed. The Department backed by support from the prime minister embraced the idea of providing an education for both males and females in Catholic as well as Protestant industrial schools, and this policy became official in response to concerns such as those expressed by Father Hugonnard that

> a school for Indian girls would be of great importance...absolutely necessary to effect the

> civilization of the next generation...it would be almost a guarantee that their children would be educated also and brought up Christians, with no danger of their following the awful existence that many of them ignorantly live now. It will be nearly futile to educate the boys and leave the girls uneducated.[42]

The proposal for female education at industrial schools seemed to both illuminate and resolve a glaring deficiency in the Department of Indian Affair's aims for Indian education. Without female education, educated males would marry within their former band order. In so doing, the "civilized" mentality and customs which had earnestly been instilled by school authorities would pose the threat of a total reversion into barbarism.

What was taught as well as the proposed aim of education at industrial schools within the Western Territories would be intimately tied to the location where the learning took place. As stated above, the three major industrial schools within the North-West Territories were located off the reserve, and in close proximity to white settlement areas. The justification for this would be an attempt at a quick and thorough assimilation without the possibility of cultural relapse through extended contact with parents and friends. Accordingly, "...the government had...an ideological commitment to suppress the native culture as rapidly as possible and fashion a new generation of Indian children raised in isolation from their parents, in the image of the white man."[43]

But recruitment proved to be a difficult task both before and after the Rebellion in 1885. Parents distrusted the goals of these institutions

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42 Father Hugonnard's Report on Qu'Appelle Industrial School, "Indian Affairs Report", (1885, p. 138, RG 10 Black, 11, 422-2).

43 Buckley, p. 47.

as rumors of an overindulgence of work as opposed to education circulated amongst them. When the "youngsters did enroll in school, it was more frequently non-academic provisions, such as food and clothing, that attracted them."[44] The parents disliked to see their children away from home for extended periods of time, their hair and clothes reflecting those of white society, the use of agency doctors and medicines instead of traditional native practices and formulas, and the children's absence at traditional ceremonies throughout the year.

> Another important part of this parental opposition to residential schooling was the knowledge that because of the illnesses some of the contracted while at school some of them would not return home alive. Indeed, occasionally the school would send terminally ill children back to their reserve to die.[45]

For a people who had been intimately involved with the education of their young within the social organization of camp life, the dislocation of the family and the alienation of their young by white missionaries posed a serious threat.

From the standpoint of the children, admission to these schools represented somewhat of a shock and disorientation. They were stripped of their identity in the form of their clothes, appearance and names; forced into a routine which emphasized order, discipline, time efficiency, and a European-derived work ethic; and many components of their daily education and work duties were foreign to their cultural background and offered little relevance to the practical setting they were used to on the

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44 Kevin James Carr, "A Historical Survey of Education in Early Blackfoot Indian Culture and its Implications For Indian Schools," University of Alberta, Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, 1968, p. 215.

45 Persson, p. 49.

reserve. An account surviving from a later date illustrates the methods utilized to redefine a child's identity:

> I remember one young boy who came in for the first time the year after I did. The brother, through the interpreter, asked him his name.
>
> 'Mosquito,' he answered while he still had a note of pride left in his voice.
>
> The brother led the class in ridiculing him. This was the name the boy had been taught to use until he would be old enough to earn his own name. The priests finally determined that Mosquito had once been baptized Robert.[46]

Thus, to avoid the possibility of too few recruits, as well as to keep Indian children from running away after they had arrived at the industrial school, it was in the best interest of school principals to become engaged in publicity campaigns in order to present the "true" intentions of their schools' operation procedures in an attempt to win over the support of Indian community members. For instance, at Qu'Appelle School, Father Hugonnard demonstrated the children's' ability to read and sing and even allowed limited inspections of the school and its programs by parents as well as also compromising to some of the parents' wishes. The Father's attempts at justifying his programs were both applauded by parents, chiefs, government and church officials, while at the same time criticized by other officials who felt that "these 'guests' inhibited further advance in Christian civilization or promoted runaway pupils."[47]

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46 George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: A Native Reality*, (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1974, p. 64).

47 Kennedy, p. 81.

Indeed, the latter did occur frequently. At the High River School, for example, Father Lacombe experienced great difficulty at keeping the Indian children at school. And "...angry at the Indians' reception of his work, pleaded with government authorities for suspension of rations of those families that resisted him. He recommended severe treatment for runaways, even to the extent of seeking police assistance in returning them to schools."[48] Attendance problems at Saint Joseph triggered the construction of an additional school on the Blackfoot reserve in 1887 which would be directed by Father Doucet. Even Reverend Tims had experienced enormous difficulties with Blackfoot attendance at his mission school in the area. "In his school sixty-five children were enrolled, though only sixteen came with any degree of regularity."[49]

As alluded to above, the subjects taught and the skills promoted within industrial schools of the North-West Territories would be entirely practical. With few exceptions native children who attended were given the bare educational essentials in order to allow them participation within the lower rungs of the Euro-Canadian socio-economic structure. The few who excelled beyond these expectations--who became instructors or occupied positions in the church--were held out as a justification for the overall value of the government's Indian education initiative. Buckley is more pessimistic in her analysis stating that "the tragedy is the educational system they got, which in no way fitted them for Canadian society. It was a cheap and cheerless package judged good enough for an unimportant minority."[50]

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48 Lucien M. Hanks and Jane Richardson Hanks, *Tribe Under Trust: A Study of the Blackfoot Reserve of Alberta*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950, p. 27).

49 Hanks, p. 27.

50 Buckley, p. 51.

Since the church directed the process of education and religious doctrine permeated the heart of the nineteenth-century frame of reference, the curriculum would be heavily imbued with Christian doctrine in order to eradicate those aspects of native life which were deemed contrary to proper European manners of conduct and tradition. And while Protestants and Catholics furiously battled with each other for student recruits, granting bribes in the form of money, materials and rewards for participation in church ceremonies, these religious orders did agree upon one thing: that the acceptance of Christianity among native peoples represented the acceptance of civilization itself.

Thus, the curriculum would stress religious teaching on every day of the week aside from the normal student involvement in Mass or Bible study which occurred every Sunday:

> At both Catholic and Protestant Industrial Schools, daily Chapel and Christian instruction inculcated religious patterns and moral principles for future activity. At Qu'Appelle Industrial School children went to daily Mass, and on Sunday to Mass in Lebret Parish Church. Every day after school in winter Father Hugonnard taught catechism....At Battleford, the King's Sons and Daughters and a Daily Scripture reading Union, organized by Mrs. Matheson, helped regulate pupils' lives between Sunday School sessions. In Regina, Bible verses and stories inculcated religious principles during the week and in Sabbath School.[51]

All aspects of work and play were infused with the ideals of Christian morality. Indian students were taught the virtues of self-respect, an empathetic understanding for others, the importance of hard work and charity and respect for church and State. Additionally and in contrast to

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51 Kennedy, pp. 114-115.

this, nineteenth-century Christianity brought with it an emphasis on individuality, competitive spirit, the promotion of a "superior" race and culture mentality and a paternalistic self-righteousness of unprecedented stature. Even the church Fathers were blind to the inherent contradictions within their teachings.

A further requirement of the curriculum at industrial schools involved instruction in the English language. Language was not only the core component which served to prevent the breakdown of native culture, but its acquisition could also be the vehicle through which traditional culture could be eroded. Coupled with the off-reservation location policy of industrial schools, English language instruction represented a thorough attempt at native assimilation.

Yet, instruction in the English language still tended to display several difficulties which disabled to some degree the entire native educational program within the Territories. First, there were problems related to the fact that it was possible to have students from different native groups within the same classroom. Thus, to instruct Blackfoot and Cree children as did Father Lacombe at Saint Joseph's School in High River, or Cree, Chippewa, Sioux and Assiniboine children who were at times all represented at Qu'Appelle School, presented a difficulty. Second, was the problem of instructors attempting to teach native children English, without having enough practical fluency in the native dialect through which to promote understanding and present adequate enough examples to facilitate a smooth transition from one language to the other. Third, there needed to be some form of student text which would alleviate the problems associated with acquiring an ability to use the English language. Although local efforts pressed government officials

for this request, and some support was granted from both Hayter Reed and the Protestant School Inspector, J.A. Macrae, all attempts eventually failed. It became the dominant philosophy of government officials in Canada within the last decade of the nineteenth century that English language acquisition could be accomplished without the use of bilingual print materials.[52] Indeed, as recorded in an account of a student of one of these schools, the enforcement of this regulation was backed by threat and intimidation. "In my first meeting with the brother, he showed me a long black leather strap and told me, through my interpreter, 'If you ever are caught speaking Indian this is what you will get across your hands.'"[53] Last, one method which was attempted with governmental approval, but only to a limited degree, was the mixing of Indian children with white, English-speaking children. The idea was to have the white children serve as models of "civilization" by which their characteristics--most notably, language--could be emulated. This method of learning was supported by prominent Industrial School principles such as Father's Hugonnard and Lacombe but was never widely utilized.

Language instruction at Indian Schools would remain a problem. This would not only be due to the government policy of allowing English only, but also to the cultural distinctiveness of English and the Indian languages. As Carr depicts in his study of early Blackfoot culture,

> Blackfoot, in common with most Indian languages was very precise, concrete and oriented to the immediate world around them. It was characterized by an absence of abstractions in it, for a definite mental picture could not be formed of abstract ideas. The Indian could speak of moons or sleeps, but he could not speak of time as an entity in itself. As a result of his language, then, the

52 Kennedy, p. 106.

53 Manuel and Posluns, p. 64.

> Blackfoot lived in a world that was definite and concise. His values, beliefs and attitudes were all formed within this framework.[54]

Both the concreteness of the Indian language and of the associated mental concepts, provided a stumbling block for English language learning. The instructor's language was often too abstract in nature, and the curriculum disallowed the continuance of bilingual learning to serve as a bridge from the child's competency in one language to full literacy in the other.

Aside from these drawbacks, school missionaries pressed their goals to educate native youth under the conditions which existed. An elementary education was given the children which was comprised of training in the English language and other basic subject areas. Most commonly the focus of study would revolve around reading, writing, basic arithmetic, with limited studies of geography and history. The academic level usually achieved before a student would move on to trades and technical-based areas of learning was equivalent to grade four. Importantly, the school day would be structured so that academic learning occupied approximately one half of the day, and this would be followed by practical training in the form of work, sport and play within the grounds of the school.

The second level of education at industrial schools promoted to a greater extent the practical pursuits of training in agriculture, trades, technical applications and domestic service over those of class-based academic learning. For boys, this would involve such duties as tending to livestock, dairy cattle, farming or blacksmithing and carpentry, for girls,

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54 Carr, p. 205.

cooking, sewing, gardening and laundry skills were emphasized. For instance at Qu'Appelle School,

> the carpentry boys did work for school, Agency, outsiders and helped build the new Regina School in 1893. The sisters acquired a sewing machine and knitting machine for the girls. Farming instructor Redmond acquired local fame for his garden vegetables and farm work with the boys, as did Father Hugonnard for his fruit trees, planted with the pupils' aid. The fencemen cum night watchman taught painting and plastering. A boot manufacturing business (felt boots) and a tinsmith opened to serve the school and settlement's needs.[55]

Time for recreation and sports was also given, and aside from individual methods of play such as the use of school swings, skipping or skating, team sports such as cricket, baseball and hockey were also encouraged. At times, this would lead to competition between schools or with the local townsites. Yet, all forms of play and recreational activity represented the schools' primary motive, behind the obvious facade of physical activity. They were used to inculcate white-European virtues--competitiveness, sportsmanship, nationalism, and the superiority of Euro-Victorian culture--within the participants.

However, according to many sources life was often far from pleasant. George Manuel and Michael Posluns, for instance, give one such description even though the example is from a British Columbian industrial school in the early part of the twentieth century:

> We spent very little time in the classroom. We were in the classroom from nine o'clock in the morning until noon. Another shift came into the classroom at one o'clock in the afternoon and stayed until three. The

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55 Kennedy, p. 107.

> longer half of our day was spent in what the brothers called "industrial training." Industrial training consisted of doing all kinds of manual labour that are commonly done around a farm, except that we did not have the equipment that even an Indian farmer of those days would have been using.
>
> We would pack fifty pounds of green cord wood by foot from where it was tied up in a boom by the river up to the buildings, a distance of a mile and a half. Brothers or helpers were stationed along the trail. If we stopped they had whips to get us moving again....
>
> Of course, we milked the cows, fed the pigs, slaughtered the animals, pitched hay. Normal farm chores for nine- or ten-year-old boys became light work after you had been at that school for a few months.[56]

Through the use of this form of training, school officials were attempting to suit native students for roles within the larger industrial-capitalist society. As such an attempt was made to foster three types of training. First, there was the academic (discussed above) which included a working knowledge of English as well as minimal levels of accomplishment in other subjects. Second, was the skills orientation as displayed by examples from the students' half-day work which was completed around the school. And third, was an underlying values orientation to the white world of work which required the longest amount of time to instill within the students. As alluded to earlier, white people accomplished things by routine, and in direct relation to the clock. This form of organization was unknown in Indian cultures, and for example, it would be common in traditional native culture to work at a feverish rate for a few hours to complete a task, only to enjoy one's leisure time for as long as possible. The difference, as succinctly stated by Carr, is that "whites live by 'time' and frequently regard work as something valuable in

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56 Manuel and Posluns, pp. 64-65.

itself. The Indian's life was not traditionally regulated by time considerations and work was something that was done when necessary."[57]

To the missionaries, there existed other value orientations which were essential to instill within native students for success within the world of work. Among these were the attributes of politeness, honesty, punctuality, cleaness, a sense of order, and the ability to follow orders. As attested to by Edward Wilson's work within industrial schools for the Ontario Ojibway, "much of this emphasis on routine was to correct what was considered the Indian incapacity for regularity of conduct. If they were to amalgamate with the whites," they "would have to be able to work the long tedious hours typical of the nineteenth-century working classes--sixty hours a week."[58]

The third level of training at industrial schools within the North-West promoted the advancement of the student into the status of employee within a specified occupation. It was quite common during this final stage of education for students to leave the compound of the school for extended periods of time to apprentice in a particular trade or to work on occupation-related tasks which would last several weeks to months in extent. Additionally, school officials did not feel a reluctance in many cases in leaving their duties up to the responsibility of students within this educational stage. For example, boys would often work on farms for the duration of the summer, and girls in some cases took over the entire function of a single duty such as cooking or sewing for the residents of the school. As Kennedy reports,

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57 Carr, p. 234.
58 Nock, p. 83.

> during his visits Inspector T.P. Wadsworth remarked on how the Sisters could go off for a day and quite confidently leave the care of the whole school household to the girls, including managing six hundred meals. When Father Dorais took sick and the 18 instrument band went to play at Indian Head Agricultural Fair in 1893, the townspeople saw one of the boys lead the band.[59]

To a certain extent this stage of schooling was more common to Indian children than the to previous levels. Since in this stage students were apprenticing for a role in life, were given much more latitude in terms of freedom from control, and as a result, exercised a limited amount of decision making within their various roles. This was similar to the adolescent's role in traditional native culture whereby he or she gained skill at a trade or craft from elder members of the group.

> The fact that an individual might go on to become recognized as a specialist in a particular area, was based on his interest and ability in that line of endeavour. The individual's interest stimulated him to acquire more knowledge of his craft and to refine his skill through practice. Demonstrated proficiency in these culturally based activities brought public recognition as a specialist. The resulting prestige together with the material rewards offered for his services, were further incentives for the individual to seek excellence in his work.[60]

However, there was a great deal of difference as well. The culture of the roles within the school were new and sometimes foreign to the students, rewards were few and far between, the elders there were not always held in high esteem or respected, and native culture had not forced the novices

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59 Kennedy, p. 109.

60 Carr, p. 123.

into submission or strictly ordered their learning environment as did the instructors at the school.

"Outings" as they were termed, was an idea borrowed by Indian Commissioner Reed from the Carlisle School experiment in Pennsylvania. There the outing system was considered a success in its initial stages and boys and girls from the school could be placed with a farmer or tradesperson in a local town, receiving room, board and wages in return for their work. For Pratt, this system represented a further method through which assimilation could take place. "Living with white people, speaking the language constantly, working with them, eating with them, becoming practically members of the family, it was understandable that shortly they would take on the white man's ways even more rapidly than at school."[61]

But as with the American model, there were problems associated with expecting the Indian students to succeed in this type of system. There was prejudice against Indians, even when they were fully able to adapt to the white man's culture; natives were often underpaid when their wage was compared to that of white workers; since mechanization was in full swing in the latter part of the century, native occupational skills were often soon outdated; and a depression within the Canadian economy which lasted from the 1870s to 1890s helped exclude natives from any of the technical fields which were open. Instead, white workers largely filled this void. Thus to a great extent, agriculture was the only field left open to native students.[62]

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61 William Heuman, *The Indians of Carlisle*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1965, p. 87).

62 See Nock's ideas regarding "cultural replacement" for a further discussion of this topic, pp. 86-92.

Yet many students were placed on farms despite these problems. Hayter Reed embarked upon the outing system as a Canadian-wide program, and boys and girls were hired out to local farms for a year or two at a time in return for modest wages which were kept for them in controlled bank accounts. Unlike the Carlisle system, however, this third level of education did not require further classroom instruction, and to that extent, represented a lessened degree of control over the students than the American model. But less control only assumes that school officials believed that students in this stage were almost fully integrated. It did not detract from students still being under the watchful eye of their mentors. Additionally, as Kennedy suggests the newly vacated places in the Canadian system could be used to justify further government grants by school principals,[63] at a time when the government was allotting fewer funds and more competition was in existence between denominations for further school construction.

The supervision of students in this stage continued beyond their permanent placement in the work force, and even beyond the students' marriages in some cases. It was felt that this was a necessary precaution to avoid the potential problem of students slipping back into "Indianism." Thus at Qu'Appelle, Father Hugonnard took up the practice of prearranging student marriages and holding on to students--in the form of controlling their life decisions and job choices--as long as legally possible.

However, many native students unable to find work and missing their relatives and friends returned to the reserves and sought to regain their former roles and statuses. Buckley, for instance, supports this

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63 See Kennedy, p. 122.

notion by stating that "most school leavers, it was observed, were going back to the reserves; this was called 'retrograding,' which meant returning to pagan ways."[64] Yet others utilize a more scathing analysis in describing this phenomenon. For example, Manuel and Posluns assert that when we left school, "...we were equally unfit to live in an Indian world or a European world. We had lost time learning our own skills. The agricultural skills we were being taught were already obsolete."[65] Likewise, Carr maintains that when the native student

> graduated from school he went back to his people with concepts that meant nothing to him. In fact what he had learned frequently caused conflicts in his familial and community relations. This caused him to abandon what he had acquired during schooling. Then all the Indian had left was what he had before he went to school.[66]

C. The Decline Of The Industrial School Movement

The period between the late 1890s and early twentieth century represented a time of retrenchment in terms of government policy for Indian schools. The ideals of the off-reservation industrial system had been severely weakened by the natives' lack of assimilative tendency and the failure of society to accept them, as well as their own inability to wholeheartedly change their economic activity toward a capitalist-industrial frame of reference. This was especially due to both the government's lack of funding, a paternalistic model of decision making and policy implementation characterized by its coercive bent towards native cultural replacement. Therefore, within this period the government turned back once again to the boarding school and mission school

64 Buckley, p. 50.
65 Manuel and Posluns, p. 67.
66 Carr, p. 225.

concept, with schools situated on the reserves in order that Indian children could remain in closer proximity to their families and in many cases return to them daily after the school day was over. The policy of wardship which the government had so furiously defended had failed, and although "it was intended to prepare individuals, through tutelage policies, and with the added use of some 'sticks' and 'carrots,' for assimilation into the surrounding white-dominated society," the end result "was the permanent economic and political dependency of Indian reserves...."[67]

CONCLUSION

Thus, within a brief period of time in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, native culture was being drastically altered by white cultural practices. Amidst this new social milieu, traditional native patterns of educating their young were superseded by the influences of three particular forms of schooling. While the Indian day school had existed prior to the establishment of the North-West Territories, the boarding and industrial schools developed in response to the perceived urgency for native assimilation by white church and government officials. And although all three types of schools were founded on essentially the same philosophical goals in regard to natives, and indeed existed simultaneously to one another within the Territories, the establishment of industrial schools represented the most extreme form of official "Indian policy." These schools would attempt to pacify the native toward a sedentary lifestyle which would prepare them for participation within the

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67 Adrian Tanner, "Canadian Indians and the Politics of Dependency," in *The Politics of Indianness: Case Studies of Native Ethnopolitics in Canada*, (St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1983, p. 17).

larger Canadian society. On the one hand, this new educational "enlightenment" which was promoted with aid from the Christian mission attempted to infuse within native children those attributes and skills deemed "useful" and "practical." On the other, it stole from them all those aspects--language, religion, tradition, culture--which permitted full participation in native society. By the close of the century it became clear that the assimilationist policy of the industrial school would not succeed. And this was reflected in the government's departure from the industrial school philosophy back to an ideology which emphasized that native schooling was to take place on the reserve.

CHAPTER V

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ATTEMPTED ASSIMILATION AND ACCULTURATION OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST

Christianity has destroyed the hideous immorality of the camps, and introduced a noble standard in the life and person of Christ. It has suppressed many of the tribal laws which were injurious to the best interests of the people....There are to be found customs antagonistic to those of the white race; many of those customs point to a period of civilization, antedating the advent of the white man among the tribe. Their domestic, social and political customs are different from ours, and in order to help the Indian to a nobler life we must undermine them with our own, or bring them into harmony.[1]

Several years ago there went a priest to Blackfoot Crossing to teach the Blackfeet the way of life. As he was doing so, there appeared upon the scene a Blackfoot Indian, who told the Indians that the aged priest was speaking falsely. He said that some time ago a Kooteenay chief had died, and his spirit went to heaven. He had accepted the Christian religion, and accordingly he went to the white man's heaven. When he had knocked at the door, seeking admission, a messenger inquired his name, and then informed him that he was not a white man, and could not, therefore, be admitted. He retraced his steps, proceeded to the heaven of the Indians, and besought the door-keeper to grant him an entrance. On learning his name the person informed him that he was not an Indian, but had an Indian skin, with the religion of the white man. As he had departed from the faith of his father, he could not be allowed to enter.[2]

I do not vote. I am an Indian. I do not wanted [sic] to be turned a white man. I want to remain an Indian until the end of the world.[3]

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1 John McLean, *The Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs*, (3rd ed), (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1892, pp. 289-299).

2 McLean, pp. 300-301.

3 As found in Heather Robertson, *Reservations Are For Indians*, (Toronto: Lewis and Samuel, 1970, p. 108).

I. THE OLD WEAPON: ASSIMILATION
A. Discussion

As chapters three and four have detailed, there was a clearly conceived of and intended motive on the part of both government and religious officials in the North-West Territories during the period 1870-1905 to eradicate the culture of native people. The Indian culture, it was presumed, was vastly inferior to the encroaching white culture, and troublesomely standing in the way of transcontinental progress and development. The fate that would befall the Indian people was unavoidable--nineteenth-century technology would overwhelm their traditional culture which they had practiced for thousands of years. There was, however, a choice in the face official policy would assume. According to Tanner, the decision was between the philosophies that

> 1). Indians should be settled close to responsible whites, in order that they should learn agriculture and become assimilated; and 2). Indians should be kept as far as possible from whites, until such time as they were ready for assimilation.[4]

After the initial failures of their attempts at assimilation towards the turn of the century, the government chose the latter alternative. And within this paternalistic framework, there was increased adherence to the two central ideologies put into practice earlier--political wardship and a belief in the reserve system. Both of these acts of government would allow Indians "protection" while they were being gradually transformed to the "superior" ideals of white society. Through the use of wardship the government could control all decisions affecting native people within their daily lives, while the reserve system would facilitate a "home base" for the

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4 Tanner, p. 16.

native to which he or she could identify and commence agricultural activities.

The cornerstone of this assimilationist policy, as described earlier, was the dual effect of the Christian mission and Indian "enlightenment" through educative means. It was thought that these two cultural mechanisms would decisively serve to "civilize" the native people (even after the failure of the industrial school movement) so that they eventually would live, work and participate in Canadian society, displaying an appropriateness of behavior patterns, although still remaining a visible minority. The final step would thus entail a devolution of government powers in terms of the wardship and reserve system policies since native people "would eventually see that it was to their advantage to leave these communities and become assimilated into the larger national society."[5]

Yet, not only was there opposition to the assimilative attempt to educate and Christianize the native toward Euro-Canadian white ideals which manifested itself in a form of passive resistance to change, but a strong identity ensued between the native people and the reserve lands, as well as an added dependency on the wardship program. In some cases, this took the form of Indian militancy in response to government attempts to erode areas of reserve lands which had been granted. Devrome, in his analysis of the Joseph Bighead Band of central north-west Saskatchewan adequately illustrates this transition from self-sufficiency to government dependency. A once self-sufficient and well-off people, the Joseph Bighead Band became totally dependent shortly after their adherence to the regulations under Treaty 6 in 1913, and the creation of a reserve in 1919. The Band's condition has remained

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5 Tanner, p. 17.

unchanged, and citing 1990 data Devrome contends that "...77% of the Joseph Bighead Band is receiving social assistance, and the other 23% are dependent on employment created through transfer payments to support themselves and their families."[6] Thus, instead of assimilation through protective segregation, the federal government created a system of limited integration with economic dependency.

Assimilation, or the "old weapon" as it has been referred to in this study, failed as an official policy in the Canadian North-West. As in other time periods and geographical areas of the world, the supplantation of minority cultures by dominant cultures has rarely if ever been successful. This holds true whether the focus of research is on ancient societies or on policies affecting more modern nations. Indeed, one has only to look to the series of events unfolding currently in the latter part of the twentieth century to see that ethnic nationalism is on the rise within the world, while paradoxically, it is set against a backdrop of a growth toward economic globalism. Within this setting, the stage is set for further attempts at assimilation or acculturation between various groups within the world.

The Canadian government and missionary officials of the nineteenth century are not to be wholly blamed for embarking upon the policies characteristic of this time period. It must be remembered that who they were and what they represented were intimately tied to nineteenth-century European ideals. For the most part, they were caught up in the zeal which affected all parameters of society and intellectual thought. It was a new world, filled with the belief in the material

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6 Robert Devrome, "Indian Education: Resistance to Internal Colonization," University of Alberta, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1991, p. 88.

advancement and well-being of mankind and humanitarian and utopian ideals. It was felt that European society, as such, had been blessed with the good fortune of civilization advancement. Thus, it was understandable that this attitude of superiority would translate into policies of ethnocentrism toward susceptible cultures. Cultural genocide of the native, as viewed through the eyes of the later twentieth-century historian, was the obvious outcome of government initiatives of this nature. Yet during the period under study, the policy makers conceived of their actions in terms of forcing native culture to a "higher level" of existence. It was felt that once this level of civilization was experienced by the native, all "traditional" culture would benefit through cultural advancement.

II. THE NEW WISDOM

The new wisdom--the dissemination of nineteenth-century ideals--would impact the inhabitants of the North-West Territories in different ways during the period under study. For the native, the government, church and teacher (in most cases church officials were the teachers) were in collusion with regard to the enactment and delivery of official policy. Nock for example, in his assessment of native education in early Canada, sums up the situation in the following manner:

> whatever approach was used, the material taught in the schools and the teachers themselves always represented the dominant white culture. The curriculum never represented aspects of native culture, nor did it reflect ways of life and modes of living in which the native child might still need skills. The teachers were also a problem. While many of them wished to do well, they were placed in a very difficult position. Obviously they were not kin or family friends. They usually knew nothing or next to nothing of the native ways of life and they were not

> encouraged to gain such knowledge. Often they were on the margins of their profession, or were recruited on religious rather than pedagogical grounds....The result of such programs was all too often for the children to learn implicitly and sometimes explicitly that most aspects of Indian culture were to be regarded as inferior and degraded.[7]

With other individuals--the children of white, European settlers--the government, church and teacher were not as closely tied, especially if the child's culture originated from countries within close proximity to Great Britain. Thus, public school and religious school education for the white child not only provided trained teachers for this purpose, but utilized a variety of educational theories, techniques and textbooks to accentuate the process of student instruction.

For example, teacher training and level of qualifications for work in the public schools of the North-West Territories increased significantly within the period 1870 to 1905. While in the first decade of the period teachers were recruited by Protestant and Catholic schools, 1880 witnessed the first public support for teachers in these schools, and in 1883 with a bill presented by Frank Oliver of Edmonton, the establishment of a public system of education would soon follow.[8] While the education of teachers did not as yet take place within the western prairies, the Board of Education recognized teacher qualification from other locations, and would soon establish its own system of qualifications and training, granting certificates in three distinct classes based on abilities. As Chalmers points out, it was D.J. Goggin in the position of Director of Normal Schools and Superintendent of Education for the

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7 Nock, p. 152.

8 John W. Chalmers, *Schools of the Foothills Province*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967, p. 13).

Territories who later exercised a significant level of influence over teachers and teacher training during the period 1893 to 1902:

> He regarded reading and literature as media for the transmission of the cultural heritage and as a means of aiding the individual to apprehend the beautiful in life...he placed great emphasis on the study of classical rather than current writers. Programmes of study, he thought should be difficult in order to develop ability in logical thinking..., he believed that a mastery of geometry required understanding and advocated the laboratory method for nature study and geography...,he believed examinations to be more harmful than good, and supported rational rather than arbitrary discipline.[9]

As well, other Canadian educators within this period of study did not exist in isolation from the currents of nineteenth-century educational thought. In contrast, most of the prominent influences had made inroads into Canada either by way of immigration from European countries or through the diffusion of printed materials. Thus, by the late 1800s the work of such theorists as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, and Spencer were widely known. For instance, while Rousseau's *Emile* was available within some Canadian libraries, his child-centered philosophy was partially, but not wholeheartedly accepted by Canadian educators. Pestalozzian thought, however, was somewhat more strongly embraced. As maintained by Robert M. Stamp, "...by mid-century the Pestalozzian influence on Canadian education was evident," and had arrived in the country through both direct and indirect means from Europe and the United States.[10] Pestalozzianism was not only a favored philosophy of

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9 Chalmers, *Schools of the Foothills Province*, pp. 20-21.

10 Robert M. Stamp, "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English Canadian Scene from the 1870s to 1914," in *Canadian Education: A History*, J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet (eds), (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 308).

several prominent Canadian superintendents, but it made its way into the area of Western Canada with the ideas of Egerton Ryerson, one of its main Canadian supporters. And "immigrants from Ontario, especially those who had attended normal school and taught in the province had been strongly influenced by the Ryerson tradition."[11] Among those who came to the West were individuals such as David Goggin (mentioned above) and Frederick Haultain. The evidence of Herbart's work within the context of the Canadian educational environment was also felt in the latter part of the century. The influence was accepted primarily on the basis of the philosopher's emphasis on education as a scientific methodology, and the foundation of the Herbart Society in 1892 by American enthusiasts also helped to spread Herbartian ideology to a wide degree. Initially, Froebel's emphasis on early childhood education had a mixed reception in Canada. However, it gained importance after the establishment of the first kindergarten in Ontario in 1892 and the redevelopment of elementary school programs in the years that followed.

The educational propositions made by the evolutionists--Spencer and Huxley--were well accepted in some quarters of Canadian society and grew substantially in importance as the century progressed. For instance, Stamp cites examples from Confederation onwards in which school officials and other individuals were clamoring for a more practical application of educational training. Among these were Ryerson, various writers of educational journals, such as the *Canadian Educational Monthly*, heads of teacher associations and Department of Education

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11 Alan H. Child, "The Ryerson Tradition in Western Canada, 1871-1906," in *Egerton Ryerson and His Times*, by Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton (eds), (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978, p. 279).

officials.[12] The arguments of the evolutionists supported a science-based curriculum, with a technical, skills-based learning emphasis. They were juxtaposed to those who favored classical learning, and gained adherents indirectly through the increase in scientific discoveries and the availability of new scientific journals in the latter part of the century.

For the native child, however, the curriculum would differ to a much greater extent. As has previously been shown, their schools were neither institutions of academic investigation, incorporating the latest textbooks, materials and supplies, nor were their instructors knowledgeable about or willing to make use of the most current educational trends. The intended goals of instruction in terms of the desired skills, knowledge and attitude components were rudimentary at best. They would attempt to mold the Indian into a semi-skilled worker for placement within the burgeoning Canadian agricultural and capitalist economy. Thus, the new wisdom as applied to the Indian would emphasize enlightenment naturalism, utilitarianism and evolutionary educational theory.

A). Enlightenment Naturalism

Enlightenment naturalism, as discussed earlier, was a European educational philosophy which was in the transitional area between rationalism, a more characteristic Enlightenment philosophy, and nineteenth-century naturalism. It encompassed several attributes which were best described through an analysis of the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau, but primarily represented within his *Emile*. With respect to native education, Rousseau's ideas are only applicable to a limited degree,

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12 Stamp, in *Canadian Education: A History*, p. 293.

since the vast majority of them are far too liberal, focus to a great extent on the importance of a free and open mind mentality, as well as on the salience of academic learning. Additionally, native educators did not accept the idea of directed self inquiry as did Rousseau, nor did they adhere to the concept of the absence of punishment in exchange for Rousseau's belief of alleviating negative behavior through experiencing the natural consequences of one's actions.

Yet, there are several ideas shared by both Rousseau and the Indian educators of the North-West Territories. Prominent among these was the idea of protecting the native from society. Although government and religious authorities did not fully view the Indian's condition as one which existed in an innocent state of nature as did Rousseau of Emile, there were aspects of white society (see Chapter 3) from which authorities sheltered the Indian people early on. But these officials were blind to the contradictions and double standards characteristic of their own actions.

> The desire to protect the Indians from exploitation was a humanitarian and laudable motive. Its weakness was that it sought the protection not by reform and control over the vicious trading methods, but by artificially sheltering the Indians from them. It was a defensive act; the missionaries and the humanitarians were not prepared to curtail the activities of capitalist enterprise on principal, but only in relation to the Indians.[13]

Like Rousseau's private tutelage of Emile, the industrial school served as a protective cultural training ground at which individuals would master basic life skills before they were ready to be released into society. But while Rousseau felt his educational method could perfect society through producing optimally trained individuals, the education of the native

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13 Robertson, p. 104.

people was intended for successful integration within the already existing character of society. As well, parents were brought into question under this method of control. As seen with native children, the school attempted to protect them from the traditional cultural practices of their parents. In terms of Rousseau, if a caring father did not exist who could teach his child, it was much better to place the child under control of a tutor.

> Poverty, pressure of business, mistaken social prejudices, none of these can excuse a man from his duty, which is to support and educate his own children....'But who must train my child?' 'I have just told you, you should do it yourself.' 'I cannot.' 'You cannot.' 'Then find a friend. I see no other course.'[14]

For both Rousseau and the Indian educators the educational process was to succeed through the use of successive stages of development sequenced by duties expected to be accomplished at each age. For "...childhood has its place in the sequence of human life: the man must be treated as a man, and the child as a child."[15] Thus, while Rousseau labeled his stages infancy, boyhood, childhood and adolescence which correspond to Books I to IV of *Emile*, Indian schools presumed only three levels of learning--from academic, class-based learning to that of work-skills training. However, Rousseau had detailed a vast array of desired objectives and attributes of development to focus on at each level related to motor activity, emotional and sensory perception development, as well as knowledge and skills-based development, whereas the educators of native children expected minimal accomplishments other

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14 Rousseau, *Emile*, (J.M. Dent and Sons, i, p. 17).
15 Rousseau, *Emile*, (J.M. Dent and Sons, ii p. 44).

than the disengagement with native culture and language and an emphasis on work-skills related learning.

Yet, while Rousseau claims throughout his work that Emile's freedom and individuality is of utmost importance, the author contradicts himself in several sections of his work. Thus, on the one hand he states that "...freedom, not power is the greatest good," yet on the other he asserts that "the business of those who have charge of a child is to keep him in his place," and that the teacher should "use force with children and reasoning with men."[16] In reality, therefore, there are several elements of control in Rousseau's work which more closely match the conditions that existed in industrial schools. However, in both cases, the systematized sequence of objectives in the educational process led from forms of more rigid control to a lessening of that control. In the case of the native student in the industrial school, this can evidenced by the "outing" system in the final stage of instruction. Likewise, Rousseau allows Emile the reigns of freedom as his age progresses, and simultaneously, the master's control becomes somewhat less direct.

Both Rousseau and the industrial school officials agreed upon the importance of work within the later stages of the child's educational program. To the native educator this was instilled early on and it was hoped that it would lead toward the development of particular attributes and skills needed in the field of trades and agriculture within Canadian society. For Rousseau, work training would also teach character and foster the development of important secondary attributes as well as fulfill the need for usefulness in the child's life.

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16 Rousseau, *Emile*, (J.M. Dent and Sons, ii, pp. 48-49).

> Now all of the pursuits by which man may earn his living, the nearest to a state of nature is manual labour..., Emile shall learn a trade,...'Let us choose an honest trade,' but let us remember there can be no honesty without usefulness.'[17]

Indeed, Rousseau even supported the occupation of agriculturist, although he did not pursue this specifically for Emile:

> Yet agriculture is the...most honest of trades, and more useful than all the rest, and therefore, more honorable for those who practice it.[18]

Therefore, as their education progressed, both Rousseau and the Indian educators would allow the child more time for the practice of work-related skills.

As stated above, the ultimate aim of education for both Rousseau and the Canadian missionaries was that the child should be educated to live in and contribute to society, however, this posed a problem in both cases. Rousseau attempted to create a "natural man" or a "noble savage" which he realized would have to persevere in an unnatural setting.

> There is a difference in the world between a natural man living in a state of nature, and a natural man living in society. Emile is no savage to be banished to the desert, he is a savage who has to live in the town. He must know how to get his living in a town, how to use its inhabitants, and how to live among them, if not of them.[19]

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17 Rousseau, *Emile*, (J.M. Dent and Sons, iii, pp. 158-160).
18 Rousseau, *Emile*, (J.M. Dent and Sons, iii, p. 158).
19 Rousseau, *Emile*, (J.M. Dent and Sons, iii, p. 167).

The answer for Rousseau was the social contract. Thus, by forfeiting their natural liberty individuals gains civil liberty; a compromise for existence in an unnatural world. In contrast, until the later 1890s the missionaries were not attempting to educate the native in terms of Rousseau's conception of the natural man. Instead, to them the natural order was the capitalist society. Therefore, in terms of education the opposite would be true: nature would have to be extracted from the man. Yet, when the direct attempt at assimilation was abandoned by the Canadian government, and residential schools were again placed on the reserve, the ideology of the officials changed abruptly. Now they held more closely to Rousseau's philosophy of the noble savage whereby natural man would be protected from unnatural society. However, whether they were to be integrated into the world of work or "protected" on the reserves, one underlying intent on the part of the missionaries always held true:

> Indians were to be perceived in Rousseauist terms as noble savages and were, like Rousseau's Indians, treated like characters in a book. Indians were, according to the missionaries, to shun the corruptions of civilization, business, trade, money, fun, sex, and retreat into idyllic pastoral life. They would farm and become religious, calm, sober and industrious.[20]

B). Utilitarianism

The utilitarian educational philosophy was also related to the education of native people in Canada. However, while it supported the liberal, capitalist mentality prominent in nineteenth-century Europe and early Canadian society, many proposals of its developers were not

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20 Robertson, pp. 104-105.

applicable to native education on the Western frontier. As well, although J.S. Mill's version of utilitarianism (as displayed in Chapter 2) represented the fullest development of the theory, some of Jeremy Bentham's ideas are perhaps more appropriate when considering the native because of his narrower perception of the concept as well as his use of a more rigid model. But since J.S. Mill incorporated the majority of Bentham's ideals as well as those of his father within his philosophy, the following account will thus deal primarily with the work of the Mill. Additionally, three particular components of utilitarianism will be discussed. These are the utilitarian ethic and the individual, education for society and the state and education.

As already mentioned, the utilitarian ethic presumed that the greatest good--that which brings the most pleasure for the individual--is the goal which should be achieved. Thus, when faced with an array of possible alternatives, the individual will naturally seek out that which brings him or her happiness. In terms of education, this would imply that "to the individual, elevation of character is itself 'a paramount end.'"[21] Yet for Mill, the technological advancements that were common place in the society in which he lived, as well as his advantage of being born within the middle class, presupposed him to ethnocentric patterns of thought. For example, as he contends in *On Politics and Society*,

> there is always need of persons not only to discover new truths, and point out when what were once truths are true no longer, but also to commence new practices, and set the example of more enlightened conduct and better taste and sense in life.[22]

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21 F.W. Garforth, *Educative Democracy: John Stuart Mill On Education In Society*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 6).

22 J.S. Mill, *On Politics and Society*, Geraint L. Williams (ed), (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1976, p. 258).

Therefore, he not only believed that the proper form of education could advance mankind as a civilization, but it would also lead to the development of great men. For instance, he asserts in *On Liberty*,

> it is not by wearing down into uniformity all that is individual in themselves, but by cultivating it and calling it forth, within the limits imposed by the rights and limits of others, that human beings become a noble and beautiful object of contemplation, and as the works partake the character of those who do them, by the same process human life also becomes rich, diversified, animating, furnishing more abundant aliment to high thoughts and elevating feelings, and strengthening the tie which binds, every individual to the race, by making the race infinitely better worth belonging to. In proportion to the development to his individuality, each person becomes more valuable to himself, and is, therefore, capable of being more valuable to others.[23]

However, Mill's emphasis on freedom of individuality; the freedom of individuals to choose their own course of action which will naturally have the best result for both individuals and the community, is curtailed in his discussion of "uncultivated individuals." To Mill, these individuals do not necessarily understand the proper course of action to take, thus he justifies government involvement within the field of education to alleviate this problem.

> The uncultivated cannot be competent judges of civilization. Those who most need to be made wiser and better, usually desire it least, and, if they desired it, would be incapable of finding the way to it by their own lights....Education, therefore, is one of those things which it is admissible in principle that a government should provide for the people.[24]

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23 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 60.

24 J.S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy With Some of Their Applications to Social Philosophy*, Sir W.J. Ashley (ed), (New York: Agustus M. Kelley, 1965, pp. 953-4).

Therefore, while Mill supports the idea of laissez-faire, whereby individuals seek out their own pleasure unhindered by the intervention of others, in some cases he admits that they must be shown which course of action is most appropriate for them to take. This in turn, will increase the sum of happiness for all involved.

Moreover, as alluded to above, the ultimate goal of utilitarian philosophy for Mill was the refinement of society. He saw within its purpose a means of the continuation and continuity of society, as well as a method of allowing its nature to remain cohesive and distinct. Likewise, Mill like Rousseau felt strongly that it was the responsibility of each generation to initiate its young towards feelings of loyalty, commitment and dedication to society, and that it was the responsibility of formal education to complete this process. Agreeing with Mill, Garforth explains that

> Education--a formal institution working with a supporting environment--is a necessary means, and in a secular state, the principal means, of ensuring the integrity and permanence of society. It performs this function by initiating children into the values, ideals, attitudes of mind, and modes of relationship which belong characteristically to a particular society and make it the kind of society it is.[25]

Furthermore, Mill's emphasis on the education of the individual implies a moral ethic in regard to the development of a desired societal disposition. In accordance with his idea that education must be directed and controlled for certain individuals, he criticizes the self-seeking nature of other individuals in capitalist society through whose actions the moral fiber is weakened. For them, the only goals experienced are those

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25 Garforth, *Educative Democracy: John Stuart Mill On Education In Society*, p. 40.

brought through private gain, and this characteristic is due to the result of an imperfect education. Thus within this framework, those who control the delivery of education have the responsibility of ensuring that it inspires the "correct" attitudes within students so that their actions will contribute to the overall decency of social interaction within society.

Again like Rousseau, Mill conceives of a form of social contract in which the individual is engaged within the larger community, although this perception is not as formalized as that of Rousseau. As he stipulates,

> though society is not founded on a contract in order to deduce social obligations from it, everyone who receives the protection of society owes a return for the benefit, and the fact of living in society renders it indispensable that each should be bound to observe a certain line of conduct toward the rest.[26]

But within this service to society, is Mill's elitist notion that the wealthy, the well educated and the wise should serve society by assisting to direct this process of change. According to Mill, "human beings owe to each other help to distinguish the better from the worse, and encouragement to choose the former over the latter."[27] Yet he also believes to some degree that ordinary people have a right to conceive of their own self direction. "With respect to his own feelings and circumstances the most ordinary man or woman has means of knowledge immeasurably surpassing those that can be possessed by anyone else."[28] But because of their condition, the poor and labouring classes may not conduct the course of their education with thought or insight. Therefore, Mill maintains they should receive not just a basic level of skills and literacy, but many other forms

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26 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 73.
27 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 74.
28 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 74.

of basic training which are indispensable when attempting to initiate the child into society. Mill supported the idea of compulsory education to amend this problem. "'The aim of all intellectual training for the mass of people...should be to cultivate common sense; to qualify them for forming a sound practical judgment of the circumstances by which they are surrounded.'"[29]

Education for Mill was comprised of three main components--basic education, vocational education and liberal education. According to Mill, a basic or elementary form of education "is all that the mass of the population...can at present hope to receive."[30] To Mill, like Rousseau, there were certain basic elements that all children should be required to learn within the early stages of their lives. Thus, education would allow students positive interaction in the world which surrounds them. It was this level of education which Mill was most concerned with, and that which he pressured government legislators to make mandatory since without this it not only contributed to a mass of ineffectual participants in society, but prevented societal advancement. In the words of Mill,

> we want schools in which the children of the poor should learn to use not only their hands, but their minds, for the guidance of their hands; in which they should be trained to the actual adaptation of means to ends; should become familiar with the accomplishment of the same object by various processes, and be made to apprehend with their own intellects in what consists the difference between the right way of performing industrial operations and the wrong. Meanwhile they would acquire, not only manual dexterity, but habits of order and regularity, of the utmost use in after-life, and which

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29 Garforth, p. 48.

30 F.W. Garforth, *John Stuart Mill's Theory of Education*, (Oxford: Martin Robertson and Co., 1979, p. 205).

> have more to do with the formation of character than many persons are aware of.[31]

Therefore, this form of education would very much resemble the form which was given native children in industrial schools--a basic bare bones education, encompassing limited amounts of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and history, coupled with the knowledge and skills of the practical trades. However, Mill's discussion of vocational education and liberal education go far beyond the scope of this study. Within these two branches of study he advocated the training for professions and the widening of mental abilities and powers of thought for only a select few. Although he maintains that these forms of education are largely ornamental, "those who need professional training are comparatively few...," but "a system of education must 'kindle the aspirations and aid the efforts of those who are destined to stand forth as thinkers above the multitude....'"[32]

Even though some aspects of Mill's work favors elitist arguments and recommendations in terms of the implementation of corrective measures through the use of education, he, like Rousseau contends that individuals are basically equal in ability (but not necessarily equal in opportunity) since they can be molded to a desired end through proper instruction (but as noted above by Mill, this may have to be forced on lower classes in order to work). In the words of his father, James Mill, "this much, at any rate, is ascertained, that all the difference which exists, or can ever be made to exist, between one class of men and

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31 J.S. Mill, "The Claims of Labour," in *John Stuart Mill: On Politics and Society*, Geraint L. Williams (ed), (Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1976, p. 290).

32 Garforth, *John Stuart Mill's Theory of Education*, pp. 205-206.

another, is wholly owing to education."[33] While J.S. Mill does not explicitly state his argument in this manner, he does assume that it is only aspects such as custom and tradition that stifle human advancement. In his words,

> ...to conform to custom merely as custom does not educate or develop in him any of the qualities which are the distinctive endowment of human beings....He who lets the world, or his portion of it, choose his plan of life for him has no need of any other faculty than the ape-like one of imitation. He who chooses his plan for himself employs all his faculties. He must use observation to see, reasoning and judgment to foresee, activity to gather materials for decision, discrimination to decide, and when he has decided, firmness and self-control to hold his deliberate decision.[34]

Hence, from an extension of this train of thought, Mill specifies that both society and the individual are to blame for lack of educational initiative. Society may be overly based on customs and traditions, whereas the individual in this situation feels no initiative to exercise innovation to break away from this trend. And although he contradicts himself on this point, his argument naturally implies support for the intervention of government in regard to the education of subjugated peoples inhabiting territories colonized by European nations. For example, in Garforth's analysis of Mill's policy drafts for education in India, Mill put importance "on the need for an educated class (of native Indians) both to undertake the task of administration and to diffuse a civilizing influence throughout

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33 James Mill, *Political Writings*, Terence Ball (ed), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 160-161).

34 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 56.

the population...."[35] By contrast, in other documents he disagrees with this move entirely:

> ...I am not aware that any community has a right to force another to be civilized...I cannot admit that persons entirely unconnected with them ought to step in and require that a condition of things with which all who are directly interested appear to be satisfied should be put an end to because it is a scandal to persons some thousands of miles distant who have no part or concern in it.[36]

While it is doubtful that Mill's work was directly studied by many of the missionaries or government officials who were responsible for educational policies in the North-West Territories, the major attributes of the utilitarian ethic gained acceptance in Europe in the last half of the century. The diffusion of this ideology was made easier due to its complementary nature to the philosophy of capitalism as well as to several societies which made it their responsibility to transmit new ideas to other areas of the world.[37]

In relation to the education of native people in the North-West, the utilitarian ethic reinforced the overall intent of the schools. For the missionary it would be a saving grace in terms of the Indian's predicament. The wise and thoughtful instructor could instill within the Indian child an alternative which he or she would be reluctant to forfeit. After having experienced the attributes of white culture through its schools and its language, the native would be a fool not to pursue the development of his or her mind and skills along similar lines. If not only

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35 Garforth, *Educative Democracy: John Stuart Mill On Education In Society*, p. 54.

36 J.S. Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 90.

37 See, for example, the discussion of the work of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in J.S. Mill, "Claims of Labour," in *John Stuart Mill: On Politics and Society*, p. 299.

for the betterment of him- or herself as an individual, but also for the betterment of the Indian people. Hence, the white educator had provided tools through which the "inferior" state of the Indians could approximate the "superior" level of civilization of their white counterpart.

Additionally, and like Rousseau, J.S. Mill championed the notion of freedom in the educative process. But as has been shown, the instruction of the native child was coerced rather than chosen. However, Mill's argument like Rousseau's would respond to this criticism by suggesting that it would be within the realm of duties of the instructor to shape the child toward a corrective path within a early period in the sequence of education. By so doing, learning would proceed to becoming a self-reinforcing endeavour.

For the native child, this train of thought supported industrial school education--its basic level of academic learning, and its work skills orientation. While it was hoped that some would become productive members of society, others would see the value in education as a positive goal for themselves as well as for their people or society. Unfortunately, however, they were taught white values and white skills, and this was not appropriate for the integration into and the further promotion of Indian society.

C. Evolutionary Theory

The educational theory of the evolutionists more directly pertains to the education of native peoples than does Rousseau's and Mill's work. Not only had the work of Herbert Spencer penetrated and made an impact on the Canadian educational scene, but his theory was more applicable for the time period in terms of how different cultures and indigenous

people were treated. While Rousseau and Mill had in theory supported the equality of mankind to some extent, Spencer's propositions did not. And although he shared many theoretical components with the like of these two theorists as well as others within the nineteenth century, his stance differed substantially from these philosophies in many respects. The evolutionary stance held that individuals maintained a specific level of intrinsic worth, rather than their nature simply being a product of environmental forces. As such, the native peoples' race, culture and level of societal development would be seen as inferior when compared to the level of development of European society.

It is notable that Spencer was adamantly against both colonization of territories outside the parent country and state-sponsored educational programs. In terms of the first concern he believes that colonization only creates the problems of the infringement of rights of both parties, economic loss to the parent country by maintaining colonial administration in order to establish trade practices, and problems encountered by attempting to administer control and justice to a territory made up of different people and existing thousands of miles away. For example, in terms of the economic value of keeping the colony of Canada he suggests that "any criticisms you may pass upon the policy of retaining Canada, at an annual cost of £800,000, are met by the fact that this amounts to only 30 per cent upon the sum which the Canadians spend on our goods."[38] As well, Spencer cites several incidents from around the world which display ill effects on the indigenous people of those territories. As he asserts,

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38 Herbert Spencer, *Social Static*, (London: John Chapman, 1851, p. 362).

> no one can fail to see that these cruelties, these treacheries, these deeds of blood and rapine, for which European nations in general have to blush, are mainly due to the carrying on of colonization under state-management, and with the help of state-funds and state-force.[39]

Furthermore, Spencer more strongly defends the argument against state intervention within the field of education than does Mill. He criticizes this policy based on his opposition to uniformity of education and support for individuality; that it may take away self-improvement by teachers; that the government knows the best forms of direction and which forms of knowledge are most valuable; that like religion, it is liable to perversion; that it is only an equitable system if all men partake of it; and that it may intentionally blind and repress man's aspirations.[40] Thus, in the words of Spencer, "from abstract reasoning, and from the evident analogy with existing institutions, it is, therefore, concluded, that national education would, in the end, be a curse, rather than a blessing."[41] While it is clear that Spencer would not support either imperialism by a parent country or government control of education, his theories were nonetheless adopted for this purpose.

Spencer's non-interventionist policies, however, were related to his convictions regarding the intrinsic worth of the individual. In terms of evolutionary progression, therefore, the individual's level of development is invariably tied to the level of societal development. As explained by the author, "...the fact that public interests and private ones are essentially in unison, cannot fail to be more vividly realized, when so vital a connection

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39 Spencer, *Social Static*, p. 368.

40 Herbert Spencer, *Political Writing*, John Offer (ed), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 43).

41 Spencer, *Political Writing*, p. 43.

is found to subsist between society and its members."[42] Moreover he goes on to claim that in some societies the individuals who comprise them are at an inferior level when compared to the others. "He [the individual in society] must see that his own life can become what it should be, only as fast as society becomes what it should be."[43] Furthermore for Spencer, even individuals within "modern" society can exist at a lower level of development due to their lack of fitness within the evolutionary process. As he clarifies in his *First Principles*,

> ...by the process of 'natural selection,' there is a continual purification of each species from those individuals which depart from the common type in ways that unfit them for the conditions of their existence....it results that...forces are constantly separating such divergent individuals from the rest, and so preserving the uniformity of the rest....[44]

Thus, to interfere in any way with this developmental process, would endanger the constitution of those remaining. Spencer words this argument more blatantly in reference to aid given the poor in England:

> Moreover, I admit that the philanthropic are not without their share of the responsibility; since, that they may aid the offspring of the unworthy, they disadvantage the offspring of the worthy through burdening their parents by increased local rates.[45]

Hence, to the followers of Spencerian theory, Indian education on more advanced levels would be pointless; they were not expected to rise above the "inferior" level of their society.

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42 Spencer, *Social Static*, p. 455.
43 Spencer, *Social Static*, p. 456.
44 Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1912, p. 436).
45 Spencer, *Political Writing*, p. 42.

Yet many initiators of policy ignored Spencer's evolutionary train of thought while capitalizing instead on the description he presented. And although he defined societies in terms of their "primitive" nature or more advanced "modern" nature, he made the conclusion that societies advance at their own individual rate, and that any intervention in this process which attempted to alter either the state or its institutions, would lead to disruptive outcomes and maladjustments for both countries. In addressing this point, Spencer stipulates "...that political speculation which sets out with the assumption that the State has in all cases the same nature, must end in profoundly erroneous conclusions."[46] But Spencer had attributed a biological inference to interpret the level of societal development. In so doing he ignored both environmental and geographical reasons for their differences in their patterns of existence and level of development. Thus, imbued with the justification that their assumptions were a product of the civilization of a "superior" nation, humanitarians, religious reformers and government officials all embarked upon action in contradiction to Spencer's warning. To the reformers, the "inferior" nature of native civilization could be gradually subordinated to, if not eradicated by, their lofty level of ideals.

As noted in Chapter II, Spencer's model of education was a reaction to the current trends in education within England during his time period. He criticized the contemporary policy makers as utilizing an "unthinking adoption of the current fashion in education...," and like Mill, presumed the majority of educational pursuits to be merely ornamental in nature.[47] Spencer thus formulates the problem in the following manner:

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46 Spencer, *The Principles of Ethics*, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1908, vol. II, p. 187).

47 Spencer, *Education*, p. 13.

> How to Live?--that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense. The general problem which comprehends every special problem is--the right ruling of conduct in all directions under all circumstances. In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage our affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; in what way to utilize all those sources of happiness which nature supplies--how to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others--how to live completely? And this being the great thing needful for us to learn is, by consequence, the great thing which education has to teach.[48]

To answer this problem, he contributes five aspects in order of importance which he feels schools should teach. As already stated, these are ideas regarding self-preservation, securing basic needs, the raising of offspring, conducting social and political relations, and leisure time activities. Therefore, unlike Mill and Rousseau, Spencer confines all education and learning to within the practical realm of serving these interests.

Additionally, unlike the other theorists, science takes precedence in Spencer's conception of the curriculum. Thus, he applies the study of science to these five areas he deems important to learning. Additionally, he recommends science for intellectual and moral discipline, as well as for religious culture. For example, it teaches one to think, test observations and make judgments in regard to natural phenomena; it encourages perseverance, sincerity and honesty; and it allows for the appreciation of all aspects of creation. Yet, "while this which we call civilization could

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48 Spencer, *Education*, pp. 11-12.

never had arisen had it not been for science; science forms scarcely an appreciable element in what men consider civilized training."[49]

Furthermore, the ideal curriculum according to Spencer evolves from the simple to the complex, and the specific to the general, in stages replicating the knowledge acquired by the human race, and from the empirical to the rational, toward a process of self-development and self-instruction. In the end it should lead to learning as a pleasurable and self-reinforcing experience. Like both Rousseau and Mill, the end result is a practical application of the student's abilities toward the virtue of industry. But as Spencer contends, schools often ignore the most valuable form of education for this purpose. "Whoever is immediately or remotely implicated in any form of industry (and few are not) has a direct interest in understanding something of mathematical, physical, and chemical properties of things; perhaps, also, has direct interest in biology; and certainly has in sociology."[50]

However, while this was the ideal form of education in European society and even eventually aspects of the public school system within Canada, the "primitive" level of society of the Canadian native people did not warrant special consideration in terms of the Spencerian model. As Spencer maintains, "in the primitive man and in man but little civilized, there does not exist the nature required for extensive voluntary co-operations."[51] Thus according to Spencer, it would be more profitable to leave this form of society to develop on its own accord. Yet after the establishment of the imperial power had taken hold of the new Territory it became admissible to offer an education to the native in relation to his or

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49 Spencer, *Education*, p. 86.
50 Spencer, *Education*, pp. 36-37.
51 Spencer, *Political Writings*, p. 172.

her relative transition between "primitive" and "modern" society. Viewed as such, this form of education followed the practical notions of Spencer's formula, but did not, however, maintain his overall expectations.

In regard to the industrial school, the principle elements of the Spencerian curriculum were employed within the training of the students. While formalized instruction within the field of science did not occur within this early period, life-skills training was a prominent feature of these schools. Self-preservation took the form of training for the world of work in the fields of trades and domestic service. Students were taught the essentials of satisfying basic needs and caring for offspring, and instruction in the English language promoted the successful integration into white society while only serving to limit interaction within its social and political institutions. Finally, participation in sport, band and school-based competition accentuated this interaction as well as serving the purpose of fulfilling the role of leisure activities. Thus, the rudimentary level of learning delivered by the school was justifiable by those who wielded control given the perceived "primitive" nature of its participants' condition. As supported by Spencer:

> The actions which have produced every variety of man,--the actions which have established in the Negro and the Hindu, constitutions that thrive in climates fatal to Europeans, and in the Fuegian a constitution enabling him to bear without clothing an inclemency almost too great for other races well clothed--the actions which have developed in the Tartar-races nomadic habits that are almost insurmountable, while they have given to North American Indians desires and aptitudes which, fitting them for a hunting life, make a civilized life intolerable--the actions doing this, are also ever at work moulding citizens into correspondence with their circumstances. While the bodily natures of citizens are being fitted to the physical influences and industrial activities of their

> locality, their mental natures are being fitted to the structure of the society they live in.[52]

> The intellectual and emotional natures required for high civilization, are not to be obtained by thrusting on the completely-uncivilized, the needful activities and restraints in unqualified forms: gradual decay and death, rather than adaptation, would result. But so long as a society's institutions are indigenous, no danger is to be apprehended from a too-strict maintenance of the conditions to the ideally-best social life; since there can exist neither the required appreciation of them nor the required appliances for enforcing them.[53]

CONCLUSION

As has been shown, the nineteenth century represented a period of tremendous upheaval in both the theoretical and practical realms of human existence. Politically, a renewed liberalism associated with the new middle class would permeate the structures of European society, and towards the latter half of the century, would establish itself as the new status quo. Economically, the century would experience an initial backlash against the extremes of laissez-faire capitalism exemplified within the Industrial Revolution. This came in the form of socialist thought characteristic within the theories of Marx and Engels, and promoted to a lesser extreme in practice by such reform-minded individuals as Owen and Fourier. However, this movement only served to soften, not eradicate capitalist ideology, and the practice of capitalism would continue into the next century virtually unscathed. Additionally, the growth in nationalism and the importance of the state subdued the European mentality, as empire building and colonialism escalated

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52 Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1910, p. 316.

53 Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, p. 319.

throughout the world. Furthermore, from mid-century onward, positivistic science and scientific discoveries served to erode the underpinnings of the church. New ways of thinking, organizing, and analyzing data would lead to a substantially altered worldview.

Within these evolving societal structures, the realm of educational thought and practice would undergo a considerable amount of change as well. As this study has depicted, several new approaches developed within the century that were to a great extent influenced by the larger societal perspective. As described, these were Enlightenment naturalism, nineteenth-century naturalism; nineteenth-century idealism; nineteenth-century realism; the economic theories of utilitarianism, socialism and Marxist education; and evolutionary educational theories.

But that the new wisdom of the nineteenth century would fail the Indian educators of the Canadian North-West was perhaps predictable even without the aid of historical hindsight. The dissemination of the these ideologies to the remote areas of the Canadian frontier would remain incomplete. Some, as has been shown by this study, were limited in their influence in the East as well as in the public schools of the Canadian West during the time period under study. Yet their acceptance or rejection would ultimately be a product of the overall plans for the perceived "native problem."

Moreover, the mentality of the colonizers was infused with a deep belief in the natural superiority of their culture in relation to that of indigenous peoples' culture. To them this appeared self-evident in their use of modern industry, technology and modes of transportation and communication. Thus, that native culture could be held in high esteem or even treated on an equal level to that of the colonizer's was undeniably

an impossibility. Hence, the end result for native education would be the use of coercion rather than acceptance: a paternalistic adherence to a desired educational plan in a hopeless attempt to extract the Indian from the native, and replace Indian cultural traditions with rudimentary skills designed to enable marginal participation within the Canadian economy.

To this aim the tenants of three particular educational philosophies could be witnessed to varying degrees within the realm of native education in the North-West. As depicted above, these were Enlightenment naturalism, utilitarianism and evolutionary theory. The new wisdom in this sense, was used to justify an old weapon--assimilation.

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